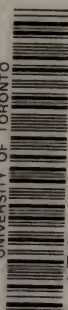


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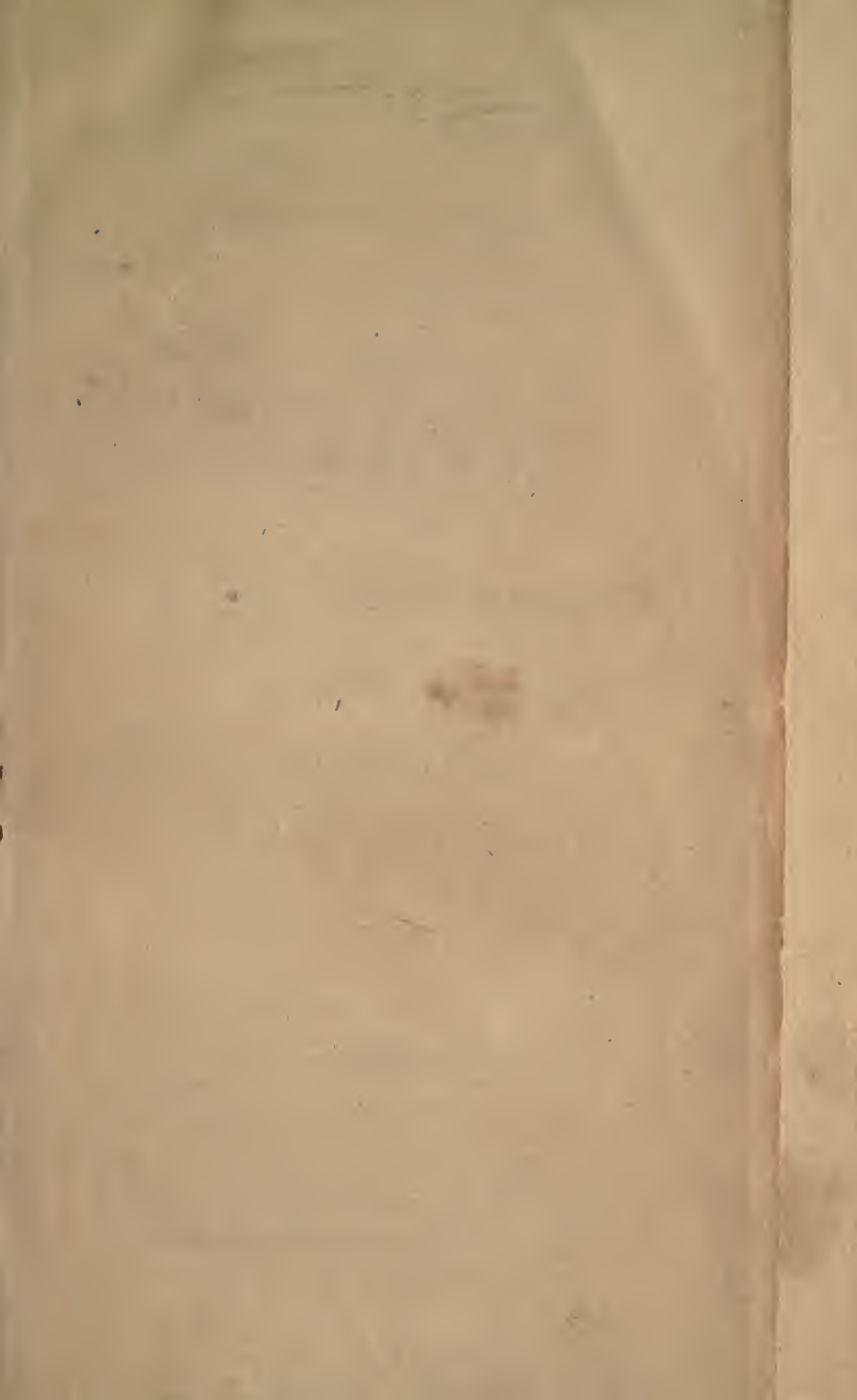


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AN

HISTORICAL, POLITICAL,

AND

MORAL

ESSAY

ON

REVOLUTIONS,

ANCIENT AND MODERN.

BY

Francois
August
René

F. A. DE CHATEAUBRIAND.

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Experti invicem sumus ego ac fortuna.——TACITUS.

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ERRATA.

Page 3, line 28, for *manners* read *morals*.

- 4, — 17, for *he* read *the*.
- 30, — 6 and 7, substitute the words *the* and *their* for each other.
- 51, — In the last note *bonnet* should be in *italics*, as a French word, or translated *cap*.
- 115, last line of the note, for *mercenaies* read *mercenaries*.
- 132, line 34, erase the word *and* after *tymbals*.
- 146, — 13, for *venbose* read *verbosc*.
- 159, — 21, for *Eric* read *Erie*.
- 189, — 3 of the note, for *Maharabat* read *Mahagarat*.
- 190, — 27, for *is* read *form*.
- 211, — 17, for *ten* read *a hundred and ten*.
- 249, — 12, for *life* read *light*.
- 270, — 22, for *actions* read *actors*.
- 293, — 26 of the note, erase the word *French*.
- 301, — 30, for *in* read *of*.
- 334, — 27 of the note, for *airs* read *air*.
- 362, — 9, for *ragled* read *ragged*.
- 368, — 1, for *says any think*, read *sees any thing*.
- 384, — 7, for *by* read *but*.
- 391, — 30, for *under* read *with*.

PREFACE OF THE EDITOR.

THIS Essay on Revolutions, of which the Author had only distributed a few copies among his friends some years ago, could not re-appear under more favourable circumstances. The Revolution of France is unfortunately not at an end. It has acquired fresh vigour through that scion of Jacobinism, the sanguinary Corsican, for whom the soldiery, faithless and greedy after pillage, have betrayed their King ; and the military despotism, inevitably resulting from their treason, is not less terrible for Europe than the revolutionary audacity, of which M. de Chateaubriand has given such revolting accounts. In other respects, the astonishing resemblances of Persia to Germany, England to Carthage, Macedonia to Prussia, Tyre to Holland, Scythia to Switzerland, Greece to France, Egypt to Italy, and the Median war to that of the Revolution, are calculated to interest the reader of all times, and acquire additional weight at the moment that all the nations of Europe, forgetting their ancient animosities, are

arming the flower of their youth, and preparing to snatch the sceptre of usurpation from the hands of the most odious of tyrants, who

Cover'd with Bourbon blood, and stern in arms,
Call'd upright Henry a mere rabble king.*

We shall immediately publish *Recollections of Italy, England and America*, accompanied by various, moral and literary essays from the pen of the same Author, in which will be found the nervous style that characterizes the present Essay, together with those ingenious and delicate *traits* that so pre-eminently distinguish his *Beauties of Christianity*.

* “ Couvert du sang Bourbon, puissant par la mitraille,
Nommoit le bon Henri le roi de la canaille.”

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· ANCIENT REVOLUTIONS.

INTRODUCTION.

IF he, who was born with an ardent passion for the sciences, and has devoted to them the labours of his youth; if he, who has been consumed by a thirst for knowledge, and has torn himself away from the enjoyments of affluence in order to go beyond the seas, to contemplate the grandest spectacle which can be offered to the eye of the philosopher, to meditate on free man in a state of nature and in society, placed near each other, on the same soil; finally, if he, who, in the daily experience of adversity, has learnt betimes duly to estimate the prejudices of life—if such a person,

I say, deserves any confidence, readers, you will find him in me.

The situation in which I am placed, is, moreover, favourable to truth. Without desires and without fear as I am, I no longer indulge in the chimeras of happiness, and mankind can inflict on me no greater evils than I experience. "Misfortune,"* says the author of the *Studies of Nature*, "is like the black mountain of Bember at the extremities of the burning kingdom of Lahor. While you are ascending it, you see nothing before you except barren rocks; but when you attain the summit, you perceive the heavens above your head and the kingdom of Cachemire at your feet."

This observation, which at the first glance may appear somewhat too personal, is nevertheless indispensable. Without it, the reader, full of that unfortunate distrust which puts us on our guard against an author's opinions, would perhaps have run through this work with less interest than he will now feel. But if I have taken so much care to make the road smooth for him to enter on his career, he should in his turn make some sacrifice to me. Oh you, who read my work, banish your passions for a moment, while you peruse this dissertation on the greatest questions which can occupy the attention of mankind. Consider the subject attentively with me. If you sometimes feel your blood take fire, shut the book, and wait till your heart beats calmly before you begin to

* Indian Cottage.

read again. In return, I do not flatter myself with the idea of displaying genius, but I promise that my sentiments shall proceed from a heart as devoid of prejudice as a human heart can be. Like you, if my blood be heated, I will allow it to cool before I resume my pen. I will always converse with you in a simple manner. I will always reason upon principles. I may undoubtedly be mistaken, but if not always just, I will always be sincere. Be not, therefore, hasty in despising the work of a man, who only writes for the purpose of being useful ; and if from recollections of too tender a nature, I should, in the course of this essay, drop an involuntary tear, recollect that some allowance should be made for the unfortunate, and say : Let us pardon him for the sake of the courage which he has manifested, by listening to the voice of truth, in spite of the prejudices so excusable on the part of the unfortunate.

Explanation of the Plan.

1. What revolutions have heretofore occurred in the governments of mankind? What was, at those periods, the state of society, and what has been the influence of those revolutions on the age in which they occurred, and on the ages which have succeeded?

2. Among these revolutions are there any, which, from the spirit, manners, and enlightened state of the times, can be compared with the French one?

3. What were the primitive causes of this revolution, and those which effected its sudden development?

Such are the questions that I propose to examine; and although much has been written on the French revolution, yet each faction having been satisfied by decrying its rival, the subject is still as new as if it had never been discussed.

Republicans, Constitutionists, Girondists, Royalists, Emigrants—in fact, politicians of all sects,* on these questions being properly or improperly understood, depends your future happiness or misery. There is no man who does not form projects aiming at glory, wealth, pleasure, or repose, and yet no one at a critical moment can say, I will do this to-morrow, if he has not foreseen what he morrow will be. The period of individual happiness is past. The little ambition and confined interest of a single man sink into nothingness before the general ambition of nations and the interest of the human race. It is in vain that you hope to escape the calamities of the present age by retired habits and the obscurity of your life; the

* I shall often be obliged, for the purpose of making myself understood, to employ the different names of parties in the French revolution. I give notice that these appellations, when proceeding from my pen, are only used as necessary towards a right understanding of my subject, and by no means as a personal reflection. I am not a writer of any sect, and I can easily conceive that there are very honest people whose opinions differ from mine. Perhaps true wisdom consists in being not without principles, but without fixed opinions.

friend is now torn from the friend, and the retreat of the sage-resounds with the fall of thrones. No one can promise himself a quiet moment. We are sailing along an unknown coast, in the midst of darkness and the storm. Every one, therefore, has a personal interest in considering these questions with me, because his existence depends upon them. My subject is a chart which must be studied while in danger, that the sagacious pilot may ascertain the point we have left, the place in which we are, and the one to which we are steering; so that in case of wreck we may save ourselves on some island where the tempest cannot assail us. This island is a conscience without reproach.

As a deficiency in method is the general fault of political works, though there is no subject which requires more order and perspicuity, I will endeavour to give an exact idea of this essay, by saying a few words as to my manner of treating the subject.

1. I shall examine the remote and immediate causes of each revolution.
2. Their historical and political parties.
3. The state of manners and sciences in that particular nation, and such as were generally prevalent among the human race at the moment of each revolution.
4. The causes, which extended or confined its influence.

5. Finally, always having the principal object in view, I shall incessantly point out the analogy or difference between the revolution described and that of France; in order thereby to form a common focus, to which all the scattered rays of morality, history, and policy may converge.

Let us, however, at the outset, fix the meaning which I attach to the word *revolution*, because it will continually occur in the course of this work.

By the term revolution I shall always mean an entire change in the government of a nation, whether from monarchical to republican, or *vice versa*.

Hence every nation which falls by foreign arms, every change of dynasty, every civil war which has not produced any remarkable alteration in society, every partial movement of a nation which is only in a state of insurrection for the moment, will be considered by me as not included in my list of revolutions. In fact, if the spirit of the people undergoes no change, of what importance is it that they are agitated a few instants during their misery, and that their name or their master's is changed?

Considering the subject in this point of view, I shall only acknowledge five revolutions in all the ages of antiquity, and seven in modern Europe. The five ancient ones will be: the establishment of the republics in Greece; their subjection by Philip and Alexander, with the conquests of the latter hero; the fall of the Roman kings; the

subversion of the popular government by the Cæsars, and lastly, the overthrow of their empire by the barbarians.*

The republic of Florence, that of Switzerland, the disturbances under King John, the league under Henry IV., the union of the Belgic provinces, the misfortunes of England during the reign of Charles I., and the erection of the United States of America into a free nation, will form the subject of the seven modern revolutions.

In other respects, I shall rapidly pass over that part of my work which is devoted to ancient history, reserving the principal details till I speak of the present European nations. The genius of the Greeks and Romans differed so widely from that of the nations now existing, that it is difficult to find a few features of resemblance. I might have expatiated on the revolutions of Thebes, Argos, and Mycencæ. The annals of Sweden and Poland, those of the imperial cities, the insurrections of several districts in Spain and the kingdom of

* The irruption of the barbarians into the empire is not properly a revolution, in the sense which I have given to the word. The same might be said of the wars in the reign of King John, and the league during that of Henry III. which I have, nevertheless, considered as revolutions. As to the barbarians, it is easy to perceive that it was indispensable for me to speak of them, because they form the point of contact, at which ancient and modern history unite. With regard to the disturbances of modern France, they are so celebrated, of so grand a character, and so striking in their analogy to others, that I could not possibly consider them otherwise than as real revolutions.

Naples, afforded me sufficient materials for a multiplication of volumes; but on attentively examining history, I have perceived that a variety of circumstances, which struck me at first, reduced themselves, upon investigation, into a few isolated facts, totally distinct in their causes and effects from those of the French revolution. By incessantly stopping at every little town of Greece and Germany, I should have fallen into repetitions equally tedious and useless. I have fixed, therefore, only on the leading features—such as afford useful lessons, or examples worthy of imitation. I have not attempted to write a romance, in which by forcing events to my system, I should only have left behind me one of those deplorable monuments, to be contemplated by posterity with oppression of heart, while they think of the spirit which animated their fathers, and bless heaven for not having ordained that they should be born during those days of calamity. I have proposed to myself a more noble result from writing these pages. I avow that the hope of being useful to mankind has exalted my soul and guided my pen. If the greatest subject be that from which the greatest number of natural truths may be deduced; and if by summing up historic truths we are led to a solution of that strange problem, *man*, was there ever an object more worthy of philosophy than the plan laid down for this work? The execution of it is unfortunately confided to very unskilful hands. By my title of an *Essay* I have

publicly avowed my inability ; but I shall be sufficiently gratified in having pointed out the road to those of superior genius.

CHAP. I.

First Question—The Antiquity of Man.

“ WHAT revolutions have heretofore occurred in the governments of mankind ; what was, at those periods, the state of society, and what has been the influence of those revolutions on the age in which they occurred, and on the ages which have succeeded ?”

To demonstrate the importance of this question, it is sufficient to announce it. The vast subject, which it embraces, will occupy the greater part of this work, and, serving as a key to our more recent problems, will give birth to a crowd of unknown truths. With the torch of past revolutions in our hand, we shall boldly enter into the darkness of future ones. We shall scrutinize the man of former times in spite of his assumed character, and compel the Proteus to give us an undisguised view of future man. This opens to us an immense prospect, and towards an object so desirable I venture to say that I will conduct the reader by a path of philosophy hitherto untrodden, in which I promise him important discoveries and new views of mankind. Passing from the troubles of ancient times to those of modern nations, I shall mount, by a series of calamities, from the first

ages of the world to our own. The history of nations is a ladder of misery, of which the revolutions form the different steps.

If we consider, that, since the memorable day on which Christopher Columbus arrived on the shores of America, not one of the hordes, which wander in the forests of the new world, has made a step towards civilization, but that these people were nevertheless far from being in a state of nature * at the time they were discovered, it must at once be allowed that the grossest form of government has only been established after ages of barbarism.

What do we perceive, then, at the moment that history opens? Great nations on their decline, corrupted morals, frightful luxury, abstract sciences; such as astronomy, literature, metaphysics and arts, to attain perfection in which appears to demand the duration of a world. If to this be added the traditions of these nations—the shepherds of ancient Egypt feeding their flocks in abandoned cities, and ruins of some unknown people that once flourished in these deserts—this same Egyptreckoning more than five thousand years since the termination of the bucolic age,

* One important observation as to the slowness of the Americans in attaining civilization is: that nature has denied them flocks and herds of cattle, those first legislators of mankind. It is also very remarkable, that the savages have been found more civilized precisely in those districts, in which there was a species of domesticated animal.

and the erection of the monarchy under its first king Menes down to Alexander—the Chinese founding their history on a calculation of eclipses which go back to the deluge, beyond which their annals are lost in numberless ages—the Indians too, affording the phenomenon of a primitive language, the source of all those spoken in the east, and one understood only by the Bramins,* though formerly used by a great nation, of which the very name has disappeared from the earth—if all this be considered, I say, the conviction, instantly resulting from it, must be, that our brief chronology hardly serves to fill the last page of human history, a truth incontrovertibly demonstrated by natural productions.†

* History of India from the earliest Accounts, by Robertson, in the Appendix to his Disquisitions. The Sanscrit, or sacred language, has lately been revealed to the world, and we already possess translations of several poems from it. The power and philosophical propensities of the English in India have made this inestimable present to the republic of letters.

† Buffon's Theory of the Earth.—I myself collected a great number of botanical and mineralogical curiosities, proving the antiquity of the earth. I have seen on some mountains of a moderate height in America, which run from the South-East to the North-West, in the 42d degree of northern latitude, as many as thirteen generations of oaks, which evidently succeeded each other on the same soil. I have been shewn in Germany a second calcareous stone formed from the broken particles of a former one—a circumstance which leads us back to an immensity of ages. At Graciosa, one of the Azores, I found some pieces of lava, so ancient that they were covered with a crust of petrified moss more than half an inch in thickness. At Saint Peter's Island, on the desolate coast overlooking New-

The destruction and renovation of part of the human race is another conjecture equally well founded. The marine bodies, transported to the summits of mountains, or buried in the entrails of the earth; the beds of calcareous stones; the parallel and horizontal strata of soils, all concur with the traditions of the Jews, Indians, Chinese, Egyptians, the Celti, the negroes of Africa,* and the savages of Canada,† to prove the submersion of the globe.

foundland, from which it is separated by a rough and dangerous sea always covered with dense fogs, I have examined a rock formed of alternate beds of red lichen, which had acquired the hardness of granite. The manuscript of these travels, from which some extracts will be found in another work that I now present to the public, perished, with the rest of my fortune, in the revolution.

* Koben's Account of the Cape of Good Hope, and Sparrman's Travels among the Hottentots. The latter author describes the Hottentots to have so great a dread of rain, that it is impossible to convince them of its being sometimes necessary. The Swedish traveller attributes this singularity to religious opinions; but it is more natural to believe that the antipathy is occasioned by a confused idea of the deluge. This tradition might have been carried into Africa either by the Mahometans, who penetrated thither during the eighth century, or long before that time by the Carthaginians, of whom some modern travellers have found vestiges on the borders of the Senegal and Tigris. Nevertheless, if the Carthaginians followed the opinions of their ancestors the Phœnicians, they did not believe that the deluge ever took place.

† Dr. Robertson, in his excellent History of America, adopts the system of the first emigrations to this Continent, by the North-East-part of Asia and the North-West of Europe. From
the

Let us lay down then, for the basis of history, these two facts: the antiquity of mankind, and their renovation, after almost total destruction.

By only commencing history, however, at the very uncertain period of the deluge, we are far from having surmounted every difficulty. San-choniathon only records the foundation of towns and states. Cronus, son of King Ouranus, seized his father near a fountain, caused him to be cruelly mutilated, undertook long journies, disposed of empires according to his pleasure, giving Attica to his daughter Athena, and Egypt to the God Tautus. Herodotus and Diodorus next introduce you into the land of wonders. Here were cities twenty leagues in circumference, built as if by magic, gardens suspended in the air, and large lakes entirely dug by the hand of man. The east is suddenly presented to us in all its corruption

the voyages of Captain Cook, and still more recent navigators, it appears to be now proved that South America might receive its inhabitants from the islands of the South Sea, in the same way as the latter received their's from the coasts of India nearest to them. This chain of islands appears to be thrown like a bridge over the ocean between the two worlds, for the purpose of inviting mankind to traverse both. The similarity of language and religion between the ancient Peruvians, the inhabitants of the Sandwich and Otaheite islands, &c. and the Malays, imparts a degree of solidity to this conjecture. It is, therefore, more than probable that the tradition of the deluge was spread through America with the people who emigrated thither from India, Tartary, and Norway.

and all its glory. Three powerful nations, the Assyrians, Medes, and Persians, built their power on the ruin of each other. Boundless conquest prevailed on both sides, disastrous to the vanquished, and useless or pernicious to the conquerors. In Persia the nation was debased, and the Satraps exalted; in Egypt the people were ignorant and superstitious, the priests learned and despotic. In this region, where the palace of Sardanapolis was erected near the hovel of the slave, where the temple of the Divinity contained only miserable wretches beneath its domes of porphyry—in this chaos of luxury and indigence, suffering and voluptuousness, fanaticism and knowledge, oppression and servitude, let the crimes of tyrants and the misfortunes of slaves sleep in equal obscurity and oblivion. A ray, which emanated from Egypt, after having struggled for some time against the darkness of Greece, at last covered that predestined country with splendour. The wandering hordes, which Inachus, Cecrops, and Cadmus had first collected, laid aside their savage manners by degrees, and forming themselves at different periods into republics, now summon us to the first revolution.

CHAP. II.

The first Revolution.—The Grecian Republics.

THE republics of Greece, considered as the first popular governments of mankind,* afford a most interesting subject for the consideration of the philosopher. If the causes of their establishment had been transmitted to us by history, we might be able to obtain the solution of the famous political problem—*viz*: what is the original convention of society?

J. J. Rousseau fixes and reports the case thus: “Each of us, in common, places his person and all his power under the supreme direction of the general will, and we consider each member of the body as an indivisible part of the whole.”

To establish this train of reasoning, must we not suppose an association already existing? Would a vagrant savage, taken from his deserts, to whom the doctrine of *mine* and *thine* is unknown, pass all at once from natural to civil liberty? The latter is a sort of liberty purely abstract, and necessarily supposes all the anterior ideas of property, conventional justice, the comparative force of all with a part, &c. There is consequently an intermediate civil state between the state of nature and that of which Rousseau speaks; so that the contract, which he lays down, is not the original one.

* This is not rigidly exact. The republic of the Jews began when that people departed from Egypt in the year 1491 before our æra; and Tyre was founded in the year 1252 of the same chronology.

But it will be asked what is the primitive contract? It is very difficult to answer the question.

If we for a moment acknowledge that of Rousseau to be authentic, it is at least certain that this fundamental pact may be traced beyond the associations of which we form to ourselves an idea; because not one of the savage hordes, which has been found upon the globe, existed under a popular government. Hence one of these inferences must be deduced :

We must either admit with Plato that the monarchical government, founded upon the plan of a family, is the only natural one, and consequently that the social contract is of subsequent date—or if the latter be original we must allow that the people, almost immediately tired of their sovereignty, committed the charge to some valiant or sagacious citizen.

Hence arises this immense question. Supposing the primitive government to have been monarchical, how did man happen to conceive the phenomenon of any liberty except that of nature; and if it be allowed that the primitive constitution was republican, by what steps did the human mind, after ages of observation, and after the experience of the evils resulting from all governments, again find the natural constitution, which had so long been forgotten?

I invite my readers to reflect on this great subject. To treat of it here would be to compose a work on a work, and I am only writing an Essay. In the causes, which led to the overthrow of the

Grecian monarchy, few things tend to the explanation of these truths.

CHAP. III.

The Age of Monarchy in Greece.

A PERSON cannot cast his eyes over the early times of Greece without shuddering. If the golden age existed among the Argivi during the pastoral reigns of Inachus and Phoronæus; if Cecrops gave wholesome laws to Attica; if Cadmus introduced letters into Bœotia; still those happy days fled so rapidly that miserable posterity has only considered them a dream.

The muse has often caused the stage to resound with the tragic names of Agameimnon, Œdipus, and Theseus. Who among us has not felt the effect of Crebillon's and Racine's master pieces? These painters of great misfortunes, endured by kings, heretofore drew tears from us, while we considered their subjects fabulous; but we, who witnessed the fate of Louis the Sixteenth and his family, may now weep at such representations as realities.

Massacres, rapes, conflagrations—whole nations forced to emigrate by their distresses—others rising in a body to invade their neighbours—kings without authority, factious grandees, and barbarous communities—such is the picture which the Grecian monarchy presents to view. All at once, without any apparent reason, republics were formed in every part. Whence arose this sudden transition?

Was it public opinion, which, like a torrent, overwhelmed the throne, and crushed the tyrants, who had merited their lot by their foul crimes? No; Royalty was here abolished from respect for royalty itself; no man, as the Athenians said, having been worthy to succeed Codrus. It was the hereditary prince of the crown, who himself established a popular constitution.

This singular revolution, differing in its principles from all those with which we are acquainted, has been a stumbling block to most of the writers who have endeavoured to ascertain its causes. Mably, rapidly skimming over the subject, proceeds at once to republican constitutions, without letting us into the secret which gave rise to them. Let us, however, in spite of historical obscurity, attempt some discoveries in this new political field.

CHAP. IV.

Causes of the Subversion of regal Government among the Greeks.

THE first reason, which presents itself to explain the fall of monarchy in Greece, is the train of revolutions which so long desolated that beautiful country. From the fall of Troy to the extinction of royalty at Athens, and even long after this, a general subversion had changed the whole face of the country. In this chaos of new affairs, the order of succession to the throne was violated; kings by degrees lost their power, and the people

the idea of a legal government. All the humours of the body politic, heated by revolutionary fever, were at that highest point of energy from which primitive forms and grand conceptions proceed. The least shock in the State was more than sufficient at that time to overthrow frail monarchies, which were hardly entitled to the appellation.

We find, in the spirit of the rich, another not less striking cause of the subversion which regal government experienced in Greece. These persons availed themselves of the general confusion to usurp authority, and sowed the seeds of faction round the thrones to which they aspired. It is a feature common to all revolutions, in the republican sense, that they have rarely begun on the part of the people. It has always been the nobility, who, in proportion to their wealth and influence, first attacked the sovereign power: whether it is that the human mind is more susceptible of envy in the high than in the low; or that the former class of the community are more corrupt than the latter; or that a portion of power only tends to excite a thirst for more; or finally, that fate delights in blinding the victims it has fixed upon. What is the consequence when the great have succeeded in overturning the throne? That the people, oppressed by their new masters, soon repent of having seated a multitude of tyrants in the place of one legitimate king. Without any regard to the pretended patriotism, with which these men cloaked themselves, the people

eject them as a disgraceful faction, and the state is changed into a republic, or returns to monarchy, according to its moral feeling.

A third source of the popular constitution among the Greeks, deserves above all to be known, because it is essentially connected with their politics, and has not been discovered by those who have publicly treated of the subject, at least so far as I am acquainted with such disquisitions. I allude to the increase of power obtained by the Amphictyons. This federative assembly was instituted by the third king of Athens*, and gradually extended its authority over all Greece. Upon the principle that there cannot be two sovereigns in one State, it naturally follows that a monarchy has no real existence where there is a sovereign convention in unity. If it be argued that the Amphictyonic Council only possessed the right of proposition, and therefore resembled, in its construction, the diets of Germany, it is right to remark, that the assembly was not composed of princes, but deputies of the people; that such a convention was calculated to generate the idea of republican forms among the nations which it represented; and lastly, that the Amphictyons,

* The precise time at which this assembly was instituted, is unknown, and the name of its author equally so, some, as Pausanias for instance, calling him Amphictyon, and others, like Strabo, alleging his name to have been Acricius. According to common opinion, the circumstance took place about the fifteenth century before our era.

favoured as they were by public opinion, were certain, sooner or later, from that ambitious impulse naturally inherent in every society, to arrogate to themselves rights foreign to their institution, which would, sooner or later, cause monarchies to cease. *

The great and general reason, however, why republics were established in Greece, was, in fact, that these republics never were real monarchies. I shall explain myself on this important subject in the sequel, when I arrive at the revolution of Brutus.

Such were the remote and immediate causes, which contributed to the development of this great revolution in Greece; but as history leaves us in ignorance by what astonishing train of ideas men, who had always lived under monarchs, adopted republican principles, let us conclude that some real and several imaginary acts of oppression, a weariness as to ancient regulations, and a love of novelty, the chances and hazards by which so many things come to pass, and finally, that species of necessity, which has been called the energy of human affairs, produced republics, without its being at first known distinctly how

* In the sentences which the Amphietyonic body passed against any nation, it possessed the power of arming all Greece to support its decree, and of separating the condemned nation from the communion of the temple. How could a feeble monarchy resist this Colossus of popular power, seconded as it was by religious fanaticism?

they arose; and the effect having afterwards enabled philosophers to analyze the cause, they hastened to write down their maxims.

In other respects, it would be superfluous to inform the reader that the sources, from which the republican revolution proceeded in Greece, have nothing, or almost nothing, in common with those of the French revolution. I will now proceed to the consequences of this change in Greece, confining myself, like all writers, to the history of Sparta and Athens. The annals of the other small places are too little known to be interesting.

CHAP. V.

*Effect of the Republican Revolution on Greece.—
Athens from Codrus to Solon.*

THIS revolution was far from producing happiness to Greece. In proof that the principle itself was not correct, all the small republics were plunged into a state of anarchy immediately after the extinction of royalty. Sparta alone, which had the good fortune to possess in the same man a revolutionist and a legislator, at once enjoyed the fruits of its new constitution. Every where else the rich, under the specious name of magistrates, usurped the sovereign authority which they had annihilated; while the poor languished in misery, the victims of faction.

From the consecration of Codrus at Athens to the age of Solon, history is almost silent as to the

state of that republic. We only know that the *archontate* for life, which the citizens at first substituted for royalty, was afterwards reduced to ten years, and that they finished by dividing it among nine annual magistrates.

Thus the Athenians habituated themselves by degrees to a popular government, passing slowly from a monarchy to a republic. Every new statute was partly formed upon an old one; by which the sudden transitions, so dangerous to states, were avoided, and manners had time to unite in sympathy with politics. The consequence of this, however, was that the laws were never very pure, and that the plan of the constitution continually exhibited a mixture of truth and error; like those paintings, in which the artist has passed, by an insensible gradation, from darkness to light—every shade is softly introduced, but it is invariably composed of the darker tint which preceded, and the lighter one which follows it.

Moreover, this unfixed state of political principles is sure to produce great evils. The Athenians, who in so many respects resembled the French, by incessantly changing the economy of their government as the latter have done in our days, lived in a perpetual state of trouble; for in every revolution there will be found warm partizans of new institutions, and men attached to the ancient laws of the country by the recollections of a life passed under their auspices.

As in France too, the antipathy between the rich and poor was at Athens excessive. God forbid that I should shut my ears to the voice of the necessitous ! I know how to feel for the misfortunes of others ; but in this age of philanthropy we have declaimed too much against fortune. The poor of every state are infinitely more dangerous than the rich, and often less valuable members of society.

The want of a fixed constitution was more and more felt. Draco, an inexorable philosopher, was fixed upon to frame laws for humanity. This man mistook the heart of his fellow creatures ; he considered passions as crimes ; and equally punished, with the utmost severity, the weak and the wicked ; by which he appeared to pass sentence of death upon the human race.

These sanguinary laws, like the fatal decrees of Robespierre, were favourable to insurrections. Cylon, availing himself of the disorders of his country, wished to seize the sovereignty. He was immediately besieged in the citadel, but contrived to make his escape. His partizans fled to the temple of Minerva, but left it under promise that their lives should be spared. They were, however, forthwith sacrificed at the altar of Eumenides. France was not the first republic which had savage laws and barbarous citizens.

This reign of terror passed away ; but it left behind it relaxation and weakness. The Athenians, like the French, abhorred such atrocities,

and like them too were satisfied by shedding fruitless tears. The nation, however, alarmed at its crimes, imagined that it saw the vengeance of Minerva suspended over its head. The gods, seconding the cry of humanity, filled the consciences of the people with dread; and he, who would only have been one of the merciless anthropophagi in impious France, was touched with repentance at Athens. So necessary is religion to man!

To appease these torments of the soul, more insupportable than those of the body, the nation had recourse to a sage named Epimenides. If this enlightened man did not close the real wounds of the state, he did still more by curing imaginary evils. He built temples to the gods, offered sacrifices to them, and poured the balm of religion into the secret recesses of the heart. He did not treat as superstitious what tends to diminish the number of our miseries; he knew that the popular statute, and the obscure *penates*, which console the unfortunate, were more useful to humanity than the volume of the philosopher, who knows not how to wipe away a tear.

But though these remedies for a moment diminished the evils of the state, they were not sufficiently powerful to dispel the evils entirely. Soon after the departure of Epimenides, the factions re-appeared; but the parties being fatigued, they resolved to throw themselves into the arms

of a single man. Fortunately for the republic this man was Solon.

I will not enter into a detail of the institutions of this celebrated legislator; nor will I discuss the laws of Lycurgus. Too great masters have already written on the subject. I will merely state what tends to my aim in this work; and in order not to cut the thread of my description I will continue the history of Athens to the banishment of the Pisistratides, after which I will return to Lacedæmon.

CHAP. VI.

Some Reflections on the Legislation of Solon.—Comparisons.—Differences.

MIXED governments are, probably, the best; because man, in a state of society, is himself a complex being; and to a multitude of passions there should be a multitude of restraints. Sparta, Carthage, Rome, and England, have, on this account, been regarded as models in politics. As to Athens, it may here be remarked that she really possessed what France pretended to have acquired in our days—the most democratic constitution that ever existed among any people. By the word democracy does any one understand that a nation is meant assembled in a body, and deliberating on its laws? No. It has signified in France two councils, a directory, and citizens who

were only permitted to remain at their homes till the first requisition took place.

The Athenian legislator and the French reformers were nearly situated amidst the same dangers, at the commencement of their labours. A host of voices demanded an equal partition of property ; and Solon, to avoid the wreck of public affairs, was forced to commit an act of injustice. He remitted all debts, but refused the partition of estates. The national assemblies of France thought otherwise : they guaranteed the money owing to usurers, and divided the property of the rich. This alone is sufficient to characterize the difference of the two ages.

We find the same contrast in moral institutions. Purity appeared at Athens to be indispensable in the women, who were to give virtuous citizens to the state, and divorce was only permitted on very rigid conditions ; but in republican France it was thought that the Messalina, who wantonly offered her person to husband after husband, would not be less likely to prove an excellent mother.

The man, said the law of Athens, who is notorious for depravity of morals, and dares to fill the sacred office of a legislator or judge, shall be driven from the tribunal, the general assembly, and the benefits of the temple. The magistrate, who appears before the people in a state of intoxication, shall be instantly put to death. These decrees were undoubtedly not made for France, or what

would have become of the whole constituent assembly on the night of the 4th of August, 1789?

This leads to a mournful reflection. The French who are fanatics in their admiration of antiquity, seem to have borrowed all its vices without any of its virtues. By naturalizing among them the devastations and murders of Rome and Athens, without attaining the grandeur of those republics, they have imitated the tyrants, who, to embellish their country, caused the ruins and tombs of Greece to be transported thither.

We now enter consecrated ground, every inch of which will furnish a new theme for astonishment. Reader, I repeat to you—watch more than ever over your prejudices. It is at the moment when a corner of the curtain begins to rise, that we are the most attentive; especially if the object we behold does not come within the compass of our previous ideas. I have been often accused of seeing things in a different light to others, and such is, perhaps, the case. But if I am prejudged before I have had time to make explanations in my own way; if umbrage be taken at certain matters, before the place is known, which they occupy in the general harmony of parts—to such people I have nothing more to say. I have neither the wish nor the talent to think and explain every thing at the same time. But I return to my subject.

CHAP. VII.

Origin of the Names of Factions.—The Mountain and the Valley.

SOLON wished to crown his labours by a sacrifice. Observing that his presence caused disturbance in Athens, he resolved upon withdrawing into voluntary exile. He tore himself from his dear native land for ten years, after having made his fellow citizens promise that they would live in peace till his return. It was soon perceived, however, that the passions of mankind cannot be adjourned.

For a long time the state had nourished in its bosom three factions, which unceasingly preyed on it. Sometimes, when united by interest, or tranquil from lassitude, they appeared for a moment to be extinguished; but they soon burst forth again with additional fury.

The first, which was called the *Mountain* party, was composed, like the famous party of the same name in France, of the poorest citizens in the republic, who wished for a pure democracy. By the establishment of a Senate, and the exclusive admission of the rich into the offices of magistracy, Solon had opposed a powerful bar to popular violence, and the Mountain partizans, deceived in their hopes, only waited for a favourable opportunity of rising against these institutions. They were the *Jacobins* of Athens.

The second party, known by the name of the *Valley*, contained the wealthy possessors of estates, who, finding that the legislature had granted too much power to the little community in general, demanded an oligarchical constitution, as being more favourable to the interest. These were their *Aristocrats*.

Lastly, under a third party, distinguished by the appellation of the *Coast*, all the commercial men of Attica ranged themselves. These, equally alarmed at the licentiousness of the poor and the tyranny of the great, were inclined towards a mixed government, as proper for the purpose of keeping both within proper bounds. They acted the part of the *Modérés*.

Thus Athens was nearly in the same situation as republican France. No one liked the new constitution; every one was clamorous for another; and each wished for that which was most favourable to his particular views. The reader will here have seen too the sources, from which the French derived the names of their parties.

CHAP. VIII.

Portraits of Leaders.

THE same causes produce the same effects. Tyrants arose at Athens, as they have arisen in France; but as the age of Solon surpassed ours in morality, so were the factions of Attica superior in talents to those of France.

At the head of the Mountaineers, Pisistratus distinguished himself. He was brave, eloquent, generous, prepossessing in appearance, and of cultivated mind. He had none of Robespierre's qualities but profound dissimulation, and none of those which belonged to the infamous Duke of Orleans, except wealth and illustrious birth. He took the road, in which the latter conspirator endeavoured to follow him. He continually talked to the people about equality, and while the word liberty was passing from his lips, tyranny occupied the bottom of his heart.

Lycurgus possessed the confidence of the Valley. We hardly know any thing of this Lycurgus. He was apparently one of those obscure intriguers, whom the revolutionary whirlwind sometimes raises to the highest point of the system, without themselves knowing how they came thither. The aristocrats of Athens were not more fortunate in the choice and genius of their leaders than those of France.

It appears as if there are men, who revive at intervals to act, in different ages and nations, the same parts under the same circumstances. Megacles and Tallien afford an extraordinary example of this. Both owed to an opulent marriage, the consequence which is attached to fortune;* both were stationed at the head of the moderate party

* Megacles was rich, but his fortune was considerably augmented by his marriage with the daughter of Clisthenes, tyrant of Sycionia.

in their respective countries ; both were remarkable for the versatility of their principles, and the similarity of their fate. Floating, like the French revolutionist, at the will of a capricious temper, the Athenian was at first subjugated by the genius of Pisistratus, succeeded afterwards in overturning the tyrant, ere long repented of having done this, recalled the mountaineers, entered into fresh quarrels with them, was driven from Athens, reappeared, and finished all at once, by sinking into obscurity beneath historical notice. Such is commonly the fate of men without character ; they struggle for a moment against the oblivion into which they are sinking, and are suddenly swallowed up alive in their own nothingness.

This was the state of the factions at Athens, when Solon, after an absence of ten years, returned to his unhappy country.

CHAP. IX.

Pisistratus.

AFTER having wandered over the globe, man, by an affecting species of instinct, likes to return and die in the land which gave him birth, and to sit for a moment on the borders of his grave, under the same trees which overshadowed his cradle. The sight of these objects, though undoubtedly changed, recalls to his mind at intervals the happy days of his innocence ; the misfortunes

with which they were followed, the vicissitudes and the rapidity of life, awaking in his heart that mingled sensation of tenderness and melancholy, which is called the love of our country.

How profound must be his grief if he left his country in flourishing prosperity, and finds it, on his return, deserted, or torn by political convulsions! Those, who live in the midst of factions, growing old with them as it were, hardly perceive the difference between the past and present; but the traveller, who returns to his paternal plains, and finds every thing ruined during his absence, is at once struck with the changes which surround him. His eyes mournfully range through the desolate inclosure, as we look at an unfortunate friend after a long separation, and observe with regret the ravages which time and care have made upon his countenance. Such were doubtless the feelings of the Athenian sage, when, after the first delights of return, he cast an eye upon his country.

He saw nothing around him but a chaos of anarchy and misery—nothing but division of opinion and consequent disturbances. The citizens appeared to be transformed into so many conspirators. There were scarcely two heads to be found which thought alike, and scarcely two arms which had acted in concert. Each person was a faction in himself, and though all agreed in hating the last constitution, all differed from each other as to the mode of *régime* to be substituted for it.

In this extremity, Solon sought an honest man, who, by a sacrifice of his own interests, might restore tranquillity to the republic. He thought that he had found him at the head of the popular party; but if he allowed himself to be deceived, for a moment, by the patriotic exterior of Pisistratus, he did not remain long in error. He felt that of the two motives by which a human action may be guided, we should force ourselves to believe the good one, and proceed as if we did not believe it. The sage, who was acquainted with the human heart, soon knew what to think of a man, who was rich, of high birth, and attached to the people. Unfortunately he knew it only when it was too late.

He was now on the point of denouncing the conspirators, and only waited for some further information, when suddenly Pisistratus presented himself at a public meeting, covered with wounds, which he had adroitly made. The people were moved at the sight, and became tumultuous. Solon attempted to speak, but in vain, and was insulted. The populace were enraged to the utmost, and a formidable guard was decreed by acclamation, to protect the illustrious friend of democracy, whom the nobles had wished to assassinate. "*O homines ad servitutem paratos!*" We have seen a tyrant of the French convention avail himself of the same device.

Any one, who has the slightest knowledge of state affairs, will anticipate the consequences of

this decree. A democracy no longer exists where a military force is active in the interior of a state. Shortly afterwards, Pisistratus seized the citadel, and having disarmed the citizens, reigned over Athens with full power, unrestricted by republican principles.

CHAP. X.

Reign and Death of Pisistratus.

VICTORY will always be on the side of the popular party, when it is directed by a man of genius; because this faction possesses an influence above others through the brutal energy of the multitude, to whom virtue has no charm, and guilt no remorse.

After all, however, success does not insure happiness, and of this Pisistratus is an example. Driven from Attica by the united power of Megacles and Lycurgus, he was soon afterwards recalled by the former, who, changing his party a third time, found himself obliged to fly in his turn. The storms, which roar round tyrants, twice forced Pisistratus from his throne, and he was twice restored by the people. The end of his career was more fortunate. He terminated his days tranquilly at Athens, leaving to his two sons, Hipparchus and Hippias, the crown which he had usurped.

In other respects, the different factions had alternately, according to the chances of fortune,

supplied foreign lands with Athenian fugitives. At the death of Pisistratus, the *Modérés* and *Aristocrats* were living as emigrants in several towns of Greece; and we shall soon see them acting with success the same part which the Constitutionists and Aristocrats of France in our days, so unfortunately played in Europe.

CHAP. XI.

Hipparchus and Hippias.—Assassination of the former.—Coincidences.

HIPPIAS and Hipparchus ascended the throne amidst the acclamations of the multitude. Sage in their government, and easy in their address, they had those obscure virtues which envy pardons, and those amiable vices which escape odium. Perhaps they might have transmitted the sceptre to their posterity—perhaps the alteration of a single link in the chain of nations might have altered the face of the ancient and modern world, if the Supreme Being, that governs empires, had not otherwise ordained.

Hipparchus, having been insulted by Harmodius, a spirited young Athenian, wished to avenge himself, and for that purpose offered a public affront to the sister of the latter. Harmodius was enraged, and resolved, with Aristogiton his friend, to destroy the tyrants of his country. He only disclosed his intention to a few faithful persons, relying for the success of his enterprize on the

principles of some, the passions of others, or at least on the secret pleasure which men experience at seeing those suffer whom they thought happy.

The day for the execution of the project was fixed. It was the festival of the Panathenæa, and the assassins repaired to the appointed place. Hipparchus fell beneath their blows, but his brother escaped. Happy would it have been for him if he had shared the same fate! Aristogiton, being put to the torture, falsely accused the dearest friends of Hippias, who consigned them to the executioner upon the spot. Friendship offered this sacrifice, equally ingenious and terrible, to the manes of Harmodius, who had been massacred by the guards of the tyrant.

From this moment Hippias, distrusting the influence of favours conferred upon mankind, was resolved upon owing his safety only to his cruelty. Athens was filled with proscriptions; the most barbarous torments were resorted to; and the women, as in our days, distinguished themselves by their heroic firmness. The citizens, pursued by death, hastened in crowds from their devoted country; but they were more fortunate than the French emigrants, for they carried their riches with them; and consequently, in the estimation of the world, their virtues. It was thus that we saw massacres multiplied in France, and new bodies of fugitives join their unfortunate countrymen upon foreign shores, when, after the pretended assassination of one of Robespierre's satellites, that monster redoubled his fury.

CHAP. XII.*Emigrant War.—End of the Republican Revolution in Greece.*

THE banished Athenians solicited the neighbouring powers to re-establish them in their homes. They appealed in the name of religion and a nation oppressed by tyranny, till at length the Lacedæmonians took up arms in their behalf. At first they were repulsed by the Athenians, but accident afterwards obtained for them the victory; and the children of Hippias having fallen into their hands, he, who had been a father before he was a king, consented to purchase their release by abdicating his power, and quitting Attica in five days. Such a fall excites tears—one is sorry to see a tyrant finish his career by an action, of which very few worthy men would be capable.

The dethronement of Hippias may be considered as the epoch at which happiness returned to Greece, and the end of the republican revolution; for though some factious persons still were to be found in Athens, as the waves of the ocean continue awhile to be agitated after a long storm, yet like these, they soon vanished in the general calm.

Let us not, however, lose sight of the Lacedæmonians, who, in arming for the emigrants, had no other view than to gain possession of Attica, and who, on seeing themselves counteracted in

this respect, wished to restore the monarch whom they had expelled.

The re-installation of the tyrant of Athens, which was proposed by the Spartans to the Amphictyonic Council, was rejected with indignation. The unfortunate Hippias then retired to the court of the Satrap Artaphernes, where, by soon afterwards drawing his sword against his country, he only consolidated the republic which he attempted to overturn.

He was one of the first princes who descended from the rank of a monarch to the humble condition of an individual, and carried his misfortunes from one country to another, a burthen to the earth, being every where doomed to experience the insolence or pity of mankind.

Here finished, as I remarked above, the popular revolution of Greece; but before we pass to general characteristics, and the influence of this revolution upon other nations, it is necessary that we return to Sparta,

CHAP. XIII.

Sparta.—The Jacobins,

SPARTA appears like a phenomenon in the midst of the political world. There we find the cause of the republican government, not in the turn of affairs, but in the greatest genius that has existed. The intellectual force of a single man nursed those new institutions, from which another universe has

been created. It does not enter into my plan to repeat what a thousand writers have said of Lacedæmon; but I will make a few reflections which belong to my subject.

The total subversion which the French, and particularly the Jacobins, wished to effect in the manners of the nation, by assassinating the men of property, transferring estates, changing the customs, usages, and even worship of the country, is only an imitation of what Lycurgus did in Lacedæmon. But though this was possible in a small nation, not yet far removed from a state of nature, and which may be compared to a numerous poor family, was it equally practicable in an ancient kingdom, containing twenty-five millions of inhabitants? Will it be said that the Greek legislator transformed men into virtuous citizens, who were previously plunged in vice, and that this might have succeeded equally in France? The two cases are certainly very dissimilar. The Lacedæmonians possessed the immorality of a nation existing without civil forms—an immorality rather to be called a disorder than real corruption. Such a body of society, when it places itself under a constitution, is suddenly metamorphosed; because it has all the primitive strength, all the vigorous coarseness of the raw material, which has not yet passed through the mechanic's hand. The French, on the contrary, had an incurable corruption of laws; they were legally immoral, like all ancient nations long subjected to a regular government. In this case the

woof is worn, and when you attempt to stretch the cloth, it tears in every part.

Moreover, the great changes, which Lycurgus effected at Lacædemon, were rather in moral and civil regulations than in political affairs. He instituted public meals and other meetings*, banished gold and the sciences, ordered requisitions of men and property, made a partition of lands, established the community of children and almost that of women. The Jacobins, following him step by step in their violent reforms, pretended in their turn to annihilate commerce, extirpate letters, have gymnasia, public festivals and clubs; they would have forced the virgin or the young wife to

* These institutions, the only ones of the kind in the days of antiquity, (if we except the Athenian society, to which Philip sent gold for the purpose of encouraging its disregard to the affairs of the country) constitute the origin of our modern clubs. The forced requisitions of slaves, horses, &c. also originated with Lycurgus. It appears that this extraordinary man was ignorant of nothing which could affect mankind; that he embraced, at one time, all the institutions most capable of acting on the human heart, elevating the genius, developing the faculties of the soul, and repressing or exciting the passions. The more one studies the laws of Lycurgus, the more one is convinced that since his time no new political discovery has taken place. Lycurgus and Newton were two divinities of the human race. The frightful imitation, on the part of the Jacobins, shews how virtue may be turned into vice by unclean vessels. How true it also is, that every age and every nation has its institutions, which are peculiar to it, and that the most sublime constitution of one community may be execrable in another. The public meetings, instituted by Lycurgus, had all the qualities of clubs, and the people expressly assembled at them to discuss politics.

receive a husband against her inclination * ; they put the requisitions every where in practice, and were preparing to promulgate agrarian laws.

Here the resemblance closes. The Lacedæmonian sage left his countrymen their gods, their kings, and their popular assemblies, which they, as well as the rest of Greece, had possessed from time immemorial. He did not cause all the chords of the human heart to vibrate by imprudently attacking every establishment ; he knew how to respect what was respectable ; he took care not to undertake his labours amidst the disturbances of war, which engender every sort of illiberality. He had doubtless great difficulties to surmount ;

* This is well known from the decrees proposed in the Convention, to oblige the wives of emigrants, and the girls belonging to their families who had attained a certain age, to marry such persons as they called *citizens*. I will mention upon this subject what I received from an eye-witness, whose veracity I have no reason to doubt. At the most violent period of Robespierre's persecution, when the wives and sisters of the emigrants were thrown into dungeons, and in constant expectation of death, brigands were sent to them, or soldiers of the interior army, who said, "Female citizens, we are sorry to inform you that your fate is decided, and that you are to be guillotined to-morrow. But there is one way of saving yourselves,—marry us, &c." They then assailed their prisoners with the grossest proposals, and when it is considered that these execrable monsters were perhaps the men who had assassinated the husbands and brothers of these unfortunate women, the immorality and atrocity of insulting them, when now lying on the earth without food and clothing, and in the deepest distress both of body and mind, makes us shudder at the idea of the crimes which the human race is capable of perpetrating.

he was even obliged to use a degree of violence, but he did not murder the citizens in order to convince them that his new laws were efficacious; he even behaved kindly to those, who carried their hatred of his innovations so far as to strike him. The subject we are now discussing is perhaps one of the most curious, as well as the grandest, commemorated in the annals of nations. What, in fact, can be more interesting than thus to find the original plan of that astonishing edifice, from which the Jacobins borrowed the fatal outline of theirs? It well deserves that we should be at the trouble of stopping, to meditate and deduce lessons from it. I shall, therefore, in the following chapters, oppose the reformation of the Jacobins to those of Lycurgus, which have served as a model to the former, and which I have briefly touched upon already. Without this comparison it would be impossible to form a just idea of the similarity and differences in the two systems, considered with reference to genius, age, places, and circumstances. It will then be for the reader to pronounce what were the causes which consolidated the revolution of Sparta, and what are those which may ultimately establish or subvert those of France. He, who reads history, is like a man travelling in a desert through the fabled woods of antiquity, which predicted the future.

Though the Jacobins undoubtedly fixed on Lycurgus as their model, they nevertheless set out on a principle totally opposite to his. The grand

basis of their doctrine was the famous system of perfection,* which I shall develope in the sequel, viz: that mankind will one day arrive at a purity of government and morals, now unknown.

The first step to be taken towards this system, was the establishment of a republic. The Jacobins, to whom we cannot refuse the frightful credit of having always been consistent in their principles, had ingeniously discovered that the radical vice existed in the morals of the people, and that in the state of the French nation at the time, such were the inequalities of fortune, the differences of opinion, the sentiments as to religion, and a thousand other obstacles, that it was absurd to think of a democracy, without a complete revolution on the side of morality. Where were they to find the talisman, which would remove such insurmountable difficulties? At Sparta. What morals were to be substituted for the old ones? Those which Lycurgus put in the place of the ancient disorders

* This system (more or less received by all the revolutionists but particularly belonging to the Jacobins) on which the whole French revolution has depended, is hardly known to the public. Those, who are initiated into the grand mystery, religiously keep all knowledge of it from the profane. I shall be the first writer on the revolution, who has unmasked the idol. I obtained the secret from the lips of the celebrated Chamfort, who let it escape one morning when I had called upon him. This system of perfection appears to have been also adopted by the author of *Political Justice*, a work which (whatever may be the difference between my opinions and those of the writer) displays an uncommon depth of political knowledge.

of his country. The plan had, therefore, long been formed, and the Jacobins had only to follow it. But how put it in execution? At the time that Lycurgus promulgated his new laws, Laconia was in a state of profound peace. It was easy for him, partly by persuasion and partly by force, to make the proprietors of a small country agree in a partition of property, and an equality of rank. It was easy to raise considerable armies, and to make forced requisitions for future wars, when every thing was tranquil around him. It was easy to transform a monarchy into a popular government, when a nation already possessed the principles which the Lacedæmonians did. But what a difference was there in times and circumstances between the epoch of the Spartan reform, and that at which the Jacobins attempted to introduce it into France! Attacked by all Europe, torn by civil wars, agitated by a thousand factions, her frontier places either taken or besieged, without soldiers, without finances, her paper discredited and falling day by day, depression in all ranks of society, and almost certain famine—such was France—such was the picture which she presented to the eye of contemplation, at the moment that the Jacobins meditated a general revolution. They had to find a remedy for this complication of evils, and at the same time to establish by a miracle the republic of Lycurgus, among an ancient people bred under a monarchy, immense in its population and corrupt in its morals. They

had to save a great country without armies, when it was enervated by peace, expiring in political convulsions, and on the eve of being invaded by five hundred thousand men, constituting the best troops in Europe.

These infuriated men alone could have devised the means, and what is still more incredible, partly have succeeded in the execution of their project. The means were doubtless execrable, but it must be acknowledged that they were of gigantic conception. The Jacobins possessed minds rarified by the fire of republic enthusiasm, and they may be said to have been reduced, by their purifying scrutinies,* to the quintessence of infamy. Hence they displayed, at the same time, a degree of energy which was completely without example, and an extent of crimes, which all those of history, put together, can scarcely equal.

They saw that to obtain the end which they had in view, the received systems of justice, the common axioms of humanity, and the whole range of principles, adopted by Lycurgus, would not be of use, and that they must arrive at the same object by another road. To wait till death took away the great proprietors of estates, or till they consented to their own spoliation; to wait till years rooted out fanaticism, and effected a change in customs and

* It is known that the Jacobins, at certain periodical epochs, expelled from their body all those members, who were suspected of moderatism or humanity. This proceeding was called a *purifying scrutiny*.

manners ; to wait till recruits, raised in the ordinary way, could be sent to the armies : all this appeared doubtful and tedious. As if, therefore, the establishment of a republic and the defence of France, taken separately, afforded too little employment for their genius, they resolved on attempting both at the same time.

Agents having been placed at their posts in every corner of the republic, and the word communicated to affiliated societies, the monsters, erecting their ears, or rather I may say, tearing out their bowels that they might not be moved to compassion, gave the fearful signal which was to recal Sparta from its ruins. It resounded through France like the trump of the exterminating angel—the monuments of the sons of men crumbled away, and the graves opened.

At the same moment a thousand sanguinary guillotines were erected in all the towns and villages of France. The citizen was suddenly awoke in the night by the report of cannon and roll of the drum, to receive an order for his immediate departure to the army. He was thunderstruck, and knew not whether he was awake. He hesitated and looked around him. There he espied the ghastly heads and hideous trunks of those unfortunate wretches, who had perhaps refused to march at the first summons, only that they might take a last farewell of their families. What could he do? Where were the leaders, under whom he could place himself in order to avoid the requisi-

tion? * Every one, thus taken separately, found himself deprived of all defence. On one side he beheld certain death; on the other bands of volunteers, who, flying from the famine, persecution, and intolerance of the interior, were going to seek bread and liberty in the army. They were intoxicated, singing, † full of all the ardour of youth; and the citizen, with a guillotine under his eyes, seeing no other resource but to join them, took his departure with despair in his heart. On arriving soon afterwards at the frontiers, the necessity of defending his life, the courage natural to the French, the inconstancy and the enthusiasm of which they are characteristically susceptible, considerable pay, abundant food, the tumult and dangers of a military life, the women, the wine, and his native gaiety of disposition, made him forget that he had been brought thither by force, and he became a hero. Thus persecution on the one hand, and rewards on the other, created armies by enchantment; for when once the first example had been set, and the requisition obeyed, men, by a natural imitative impulse, were eager, whatever might be their opinions, to walk in the steps of others.

* I have already stated that the idea of the requisitions came from Sparta. All the citizens were obliged to serve from twenty to sixty years of age. In urgent cases the Kings or the Ephori might put horses, slaves, chariots, &c. into requisition.

See Plutarch and Xenophon.

† The hymns of Tyrtæus at Sparta; those of Lebrun and Chenier in France.

Here then were the rudiments of a military force, but it was necessary that this force should be organized. A committee, of which it has been said that its talents could not have been surpassed except by its crimes, employed itself in connecting these disjointed corps. Let no one, however, suppose that they resorted to the ancient tactics of the Cæsars and Turennes. No. Every thing was to be new in this newly modelled world. It was no longer an object to save the life of man ; it was no longer a rule to give battle only when the loss would at least be reciprocal. The art of war was now reduced to a calculation of numbers, rapidity, and time of attack. As to numbers, two or three armies immediately followed each other, to keep up an imposing mass of strength ; as to rapidity, the soldiers and artillery marched from Nice to Lisle as if they were travelling post, and as to the time of attack, it was always uniform through the army, and no point was to be given up. It might cost ten thousand men to take a place ; it might be necessary to attack it twenty times, and on twenty successive days—still the place was to be taken.* When the blood of men is reckoned as nothing, it is easy to make conquests. Were not deserters and spies sure to be found ? The engineers trolled a song while they studied the weak points of the army, and secured

* At Sparta when a first battle had ended disadvantageously, the general was obliged to fight another. *Xenophon.*

victory in spite of the scientific secrets appertaining to their department of service. The telegraph conveyed flying orders, the earth yielded saltpetre, and France vomited forth innumerable legions.

While the armies were forming, the prisons were filled with all the wealthy persons of France. At one place they were drowned by thousands,* at another the doors of the crowded dungeons were opened, and the victims fired upon by cannon loaded with grape-shot.† The guillotine was at work day and night. This implement of destruction was too slow for the haste of the executioner; and the artists of death invented a new kind, which cut off several heads at a single blow.‡ The public streets were so inundated with blood, as to become impassable; and it became necessary to change the place of execution. It was in vain that immense pits were opened to receive the dead bodies; they were soon filled, and new ones obliged to be dug. Grey headed people of eighty years old, and girls of sixteen, fathers and mothers, sisters and brothers, husbands, wives and children died covered with the blood of each other. Thus the Jacobins attained four leading points at once, towards the establishment of their republic; they destroyed the inequality of rank, levelled the fortunes of individuals, augmented the finances by the confiscation of every person's property who was condemned, and attached the army to their

* At Nantes.

† At Lyons.

‡ At Arras.

interest, by buoying it up with the hope that it would some day possess these estates.

The people, now hearing of nothing but conspiracies, invasion, and treason, were afraid of their own friends, and fancying themselves upon a mine which was ready to burst beneath them, sunk into a state of torpid terror. This the Jacobins had foreseen. A man, if now asked for bread, gave it; if for his garment, he took it off; if for his life, he resigned it without regret. At the same time he saw all the churches shut, its ministers sacrificed, and the ancient worship of the country banished under pain of death. He was told that there is no celestial vengeance but a guillotine; while by a contradictory and inexplicable jargon, he was commanded to adore the *virtues* for which festivals were instituted, where girls, clothed in white, and crowned with roses, entertained idle curiosity by singing hymns in honour of the Gods.* The unfortunate confounded people no longer knew where they were, nor whether they existed. They sought in vain for their ancient customs—these had vanished. They saw a foreign nation in strange attire,† wandering

* Imitated from Lacedæmon and all Greece. At Sparta the statue of Death was placed near that of Sleep, which perhaps suggested to the Jacobins the idea of the inscription, designed by them to be engraved upon tombs: "*Death is eternal sleep.*"

† The bonnet of the men and the demi-nudity of the women, are likewise originally from Sparta, though I shall quote other examples.

through the public streets. If they asked which were their holidays, and which the days of their ordinary duties, new appellations struck their ears. The day of repose had disappeared. They trusted at least that the fixed return of the year would restore the natural state of affairs, and bring some consolation with it. Unfounded hope! As if condemned for ever to this new order of misery, the unknown months seemed to tell them that the revolution would extend to eternity; and in this land of prodigies, they had fears of losing themselves even in the midst of the streets, the names of which they no longer knew.

At the same time that all these changes deranged the heads of the people, the strangest notions perverted their hearts. Fidelity as to a secret, constancy in friendship, parental affection, respect for religion, with every thing which from infancy had been deemed good and virtuous, were stated to be merely names used by tyrants to fetter their slaves. A republican ought to have neither love, nor fidelity, nor respect, except for his country.* Resolved to alter the nation completely, the Jacobins, knowing that education makes the man, obliged the citizens to send their children to military schools, where hatred and abhorrence of all other governments were instilled into their minds. There, while they were

* Here all the morality of Lycurgus was evidently perverted and moulded to their purpose.

prepared by Lacedæmonian games for the conquest of the world,* they were taught to exchange the softer sentiments of our nature for the sternness of tygers, and to arm themselves with hearts of iron.

Thus was the unhappy nation bandied about by the hands of this powerful faction, suddenly transported into another world, stunned by the cries of victims, and the acclamations of victory resounding from all the frontiers, when God, casting a look towards France, caused these monsters to sink into nothingness.†

* The gymnasia. It is known that the predominant characteristic of Sparta was a hatred of other nations, and a spirit of ambition. "Where will you fix your frontiers?" was the question to Agesilaus. "At the end of my spear," replied he. The French said: "At the point of our bayonets."

† I could almost laugh at the minute points which the French attended to, when they attempted so completely to change their manners, dress, and language; but the design itself was one of vast conception. Those who know the influence that words, apparently frivolous, have on mankind, when they bring to recollection ancient habits, pleasures, or regrets, will feel the extent of the project.

If it be further considered, that it was the Jacobin faction which gave to France numerous, brave, and disciplined armies, that it was this body which found the means of paying them, and of providing for a great nation left without resources, as well as surrounded by enemies; that it was this body which created a navy, as if by miracle, and effected the neutrality of several powers, either by intrigue or bribery; that, during the reign of the Jacobins, great discoveries were made in natural history, and great generals formed; that finally they imparted vigour to an exhausted body, and, as it were, organized anarchy; it must be

Such were the Jacobins, of whom much has been said, though few people knew them. Most persons have indulged in declamation and published their crimes, without stating the general principle on which they acted. This principle consisted in the system of perfection, towards which the first step to be made was the restoration of the Spartan laws. We have ascribed too much to passions and circumstances. A distinguishing feature of the French revolution is, that it is necessary to admit speculative views and abstract doctrines, as infinite in their causes. It was in part effected by the men of letters, who were rather inhabitants of Rome and Athens than of their own country, and who endeavoured to bring back the manners of antiquity into modern Europe.*

acknowledged that these monsters, when they escaped from hell, brought with them all the talents of demons.

After all, I am not so silly as to assert that the Jacobins expressly aimed at bringing back the age of Lycurgus. The greater part of them were ignorant that such a man had ever existed. I only mean to say that the leaders of this party looked for a severe reform, which they would doubtless have turned to their own advantage, and that Sparta supplied them with a plan already formed. I write without the spirit of system. I do not look for resemblance where none exists; nor do I, in recording particular events, attach more importance to them than they deserve. The number of lessons before me is too great to make it necessary that I should resort to frivolous remarks. I have often regretted that so grand a subject has not fallen into abler hands.

* Let it not be supposed from this observation that I wish to insult the men of letters in France. Differences of opinion will

Thus from our first entrance into the career, every thing around us abounds with lessons and examples. Athens has already shewn us our factions in the reign of Pisistratus, and the fate of his sons; and Sparta supplies us with astonishing precedents in its laws. The more we advance into this vast subject, the more interesting it will become. We have seen the establishment of popular government among the Greeks. We will now speak of the comparative genius of these people, and the French, the state of knowledge, the influence of the republican revolution on Greece and on foreign nations, with the political and moral situation of these nations at the same period.

CHAP. XIV.

Character of the Athenians and French.

WHAT nations were ever more estimable in the ancient and modern world than those of Attica and France? The stranger at Paris and at Athens was delighted at meeting with none but compassionate hearts, and countenances ever ready to receive him with a smile. The gay inhabitants of these two capitals, so renowned for taste and the fine arts, appeared as if formed to pass their days

never prevent my respect for talent. Were I not influenced by the intercourse which I have formerly had with several of these celebrated men, the feeling I have mentioned would be sufficient to command decency on my part.

in the lap of pleasure. It was there that, seated at the banquet, you heard them interchange the most delicate raillery, laugh with grace at their rulers, speak at the same time of politics and love, the existence of God and the success of a new comedy, profusely scattering around them *bon-mots* and attic wit amidst the songs of Anacreon and Voltaire, wine, women, and flowers.

But whither do these furious people run? Whence proceed these cries of rage in the one nation, and of despair in the other? What victims are these sacrificed on the altar of Eumenides? What heart have these monsters devoured, whose jaws are stained with blood? * Oh, that is a matter

* M. de Belzunce and several others. I myself have seen one of these well-dressed cannibals with a piece of the unfortunate Flesselle's heart hanging at his button-hole. Two circumstances, which I had from an eye-witness, deserve to be recorded, and will excite the horror of mankind. This citizen was passing along the streets of Paris on the 2nd and 3rd of September; he saw a little girl crying near a waggon full of dead bodies, among which that of her murdered father had been thrown. A monster, in the national uniform, who was escorting this funeral procession, immediately thrust his bayonet into the body of the child, and (to use the energetic expression of the narrator) placed it, as quietly as if it had been a bottle of straw, on the pile of dead near its father.

The second occurrence, which is perhaps still more horrible, develops the character of that nation, over which it was attempted to establish a republican government. The same citizen met other funeral waggons, (I believe near St. Martin's gate) and saw a group of females mounted among the dead bodies, trying, with hideous laughter, to gratify the most monstrous propensities. It is of no use to make reflections on such an

of no importance. They are the Epicureans, who danced at the festival, and who will quietly assist to-night in the farces of Thespis,* or the ballets at the opera.

At the same time orators, painters, architects, sculptors, lovers of existence,† full of gentleness and humanity, and most fascinating in the general commerce of life, nature created these people to slumber in the delights of society and peace. All at once the warlike trumpet sounded, and the whole effeminate nation raised their heads. Behold these young men as they rush from the midst of their amusements, and the arms of their courtesans, to march without tents, without beds, without food—behold how they smile as they advance against innumerable armies of veterans,

occasion. I will only say that the witness of this execrable depravity of human nature, is an old officer, distinguished for his knowledge, his courage, and integrity.

Herodotus relates that the Greek auxiliaries, in the pay of the King of Egypt against Cambyzes, having been betrayed by their general, who deserted to the enemy, seized his children, cut their throats, and drank their blood in the presence of the two armies. I shall state in the sequel my reasons for appearing to dwell on these details.

* Thespis was the inventor of tragedy, but the grossness of these first essays in the dramatic art justly ranks them with farce.

† The attachment of the Greeks to life is well known. Homer did not scruple to make even Achilles himself regret the loss of it. Before the revolution, I knew no people who died more cheerfully on the field of battle than the French, or less creditably in bed.

whom they drive before them like flocks of docile sheep.*

The courts, which govern us, are full of pomp and gaiety—of what importance is it to us that they are vicious? Of what importance is it to us that they, who aspire to the highest offices, waste their days in the midst of disorders? For our

* Leonidas, when about to attack the Persians at Thermopylæ, said to his soldiers: "We shall sup to-night with Pluto," and they uttered cries of joy. During the campaigns of the revolutionary war, a French soldier, acting as an advanced sentinel, had his left arm carried away by a cannon ball. He still, however, continued to load his musket, holding it under his stump, and calling to the Austrians, as he took the cartridges from his pouch: "Citizens, I have more left."

Voltaire has painted this characteristic of the French admirably:

On the dewy earth he lies,
Gaily eats, his roof the skies.
Hark, around him more and more
Swell the cannon's deadly roar,
While approaches to his sight
All the horror of the fight!
What of this? The Frenchman still
Laughs and sings, and drinks his fill.
See, Bellona through the war
Drives her blood-besprinkled car!
Ev'ry soldier firm and bold,
Cast in Alexandrian mould,
Fiercely urges on his way,
Forty thousand in the fray,
Each a groat diurnal pay!
Prodigal of blood and life,
Mingling thus in doubtful strife,
Down they sink to final rest,
Fools of glory at the best!

own parts let us laugh "and sing, and merrily pass the day." Unknown passengers as we are, embarked upon the stream of time, let us glide through life without disturbance. That is not the best constitution which is the most free one, but that which allows us the most leisure for enjoyment.—Oh Heavens! Why were all these citizens condemned to drink the bitter cup of death at the guillotine? Why are these thrones deserted and covered with blood? Why are these crowds of exiles flying on every road from their country? How! Do you not know that these are tyrants, who wished to hold a lofty and independent people in bondage?

Let me be here allowed to retrace the character of the French, as I have elsewhere depicted it.* Restless and unsteady in prosperity, firm and invincible in adversity: born for all the arts; civilized even to excess during the time that the state is calm; coarse and savage during political troubles; floating like a vessel without ballast at the will of their impetuous passions; now in the skies, the moment after in the abyss; enthusiasts both as to good and evil; doing the first without wanting any recompence, and the last without feeling any remorse; reflecting neither upon their crimes nor virtues; pusillanimous lovers of life during peace; prodigal of their days when in battle; vain, satirical,†

* *Beauties of Christianity*, Vol. 2. Book 3. Chapter 5, page 280, London Edition, 1813.

† This unfortunate spirit of raillery, and this excellent opinion

ambitious, fond of novelty, and despising every thing which is not their own, individually the

of ourselves. which induce us to turn the custom of other nations into ridicule, at the same time that we attempt to make every one adopt our's, have been fatal to the Athenians and to the French. The former drew upon themselves, by this defect, the hatred of Greece, the war of the Peloponnesus, and a thousand troubles; the latter have excited the aversion of the rest of Europe by the same means, and have several times been thereby deprived of their conquests. It is curious enough to observe in Athenian medals, how strongly this general characteristic of the nation is impressed on the countenance of individuals. The same is to be found among the French. Every person in France has met men in society whose eyes sparkle with irony, who reply to an inquiry with a half-smile, and affect the airs of the highest superiority. How odious must they appear to the modest stranger, whom they thus insult by their looks! What is deplorable is that these same people too often bear, in their appearance, indelible marks of mediocrity. They would be not a little mortified if they even suspected the pity which they inspire, or if they could read, in the bottom of the hearts of others, how completely they are despised.

The art of physiognomy supplies excellent subjects for those who wish to study it. Our reasoning age has too much contemned such an inexhaustible source of instruction. All antiquity believed in the truth of this science, and Lavater has brought it in our days to a degree of perfection before unknown. The truth is that most people reject it, because they do not like what they learn from it, with regard to themselves. We may, however, at least use the light which it affords towards history. I have often availed myself of it in this respect with success. Sometimes too I have found pleasure in using it, for the purpose of diving into the hearts of my cotemporaries. I like to seat myself, with a view to these observations, in some obscure corner of a public walk, and examine by stealth the persons who pass me. There, on a half-wrinkled forehead, in those clouded eyes, and the half-opened mouth, I read the secret chagrin of that man, though he endeavours

worthiest of men, as a body the most detestable ; charming in their own country, insupportable every where else ; by turns more gentle and innocent than the lamb which they kill, and more ferocious than the tiger which tears out the entrails of its victim—such were the Athenians formerly, and such are the French now !

Far be from me, nevertheless, any idea of attempting to defame the character of the French. Every nation has its national fault, and if my fellow-countrymen are cruel, they make amends for this

to smile at society. There I perceive, in the under lip of another, and in the two lines descending from his nostrils, contempt and a knowledge of mankind piercing through the mask of politeness. A third displays to me the remains of native sensibility, stifled by the conviction of having been deceived, and now hidden under systematic indifference. Astonishing countenances and figures are sometimes met with among the lowest order of society. Some time ago, as I was walking down the Haymarket in London, I stopped for the purpose of listening to a German, who was grinding music on an organ. I no sooner cast my eyes on him than I was struck with his grand and energetic air, at the same time that vice was depicted in every feature of his face. He played an air to the group of which I was one, and then coldly turned round, casting towards us a look of sovereign contempt, as if he would have said : “ I know you, and though you take me for your dupe, I expected nothing of you.” It is possible that this man was born with superior qualities. Having been thrown by destiny into a sphere of life beneath his genius, he had perhaps endured many misfortunes, and was become vicious through distress. The same vigour of mind, which might have led him to the practice of the first virtues, perhaps, made him a villain.

What would Buonaparte, Ney, Jourdan, &c. have been but for the revolution?

great defect by a thousand estimable qualities. They are generous and brave, indulgent fathers and faithful friends. I am not the less ready to award them these praises because they have so much persecuted me.

CHAP. XV.

The State of Knowledge in Greece at the moment of the Republican Revolution.—The Age of Lycurgus.

When I speak of knowledge in this Essay, I speak of it in a great degree morally and politically. Nothing, which appertains to the arts, is properly comprehended in my subject; though I shall sometimes touch upon them, according to the influence which they had upon the men whose history I write.

If we begin our researches at the age of Lycurgus, and end them at that of Solon, we first see Homer and Hesiod appear. I will not detain the reader with any remarks on these two famous poets. Who has not read the *Iliad* and the *Odyssy*? Who is unacquainted with the *Labours* and the *Days*, the *Theogony*, and the *Shield* of Hercules? Homer gave Virgil to ancient, and Tasso to modern Italy, Camoens to Portugal, Ercilla to Spain, Milton to England, Voltaire to France, Klopstock to Germany—he has no need of my eulogium.

For us the interesting part of this sublime poet's writings is their effects on the liberty of Greece. Lycurgus carried them to Sparta, and wished that

his fellow-countrymen should deduce from them the martial enthusiasm, which places a people out of the reach of foreign subjugation. Solon made express laws in favour of this same Homer who, as an historian, is not less valuable to us than as a poet. To the Athenians only he gives the name of nation, to the Scythians the appellation of the most upright men, and thus he often characterizes, by a single hint, the policy and morality of ancient times.

The works of Hesiod are full of the most excellent maxims. The poet did not view mankind in favorable colours. He breathes that antique melancholy, which appears to be the property of a great genius. It is palpable that Virgil took from the *Labours* and the *Days* his idea of the Georgics. It is from the beautiful description of the Golden Age that he derived this delicious passage :

*" O fortunatos ! nimum, sua si bona norint
Agricolas !"*

The influence of Hesiod on the age in which he lived, must have been considerable, at a time when the art of writing in prose was hardly known. His poems had a tendency to bring mankind back to nature ; and morality, clothed in the charming garb of the Muses, has always a sure effect.

Thales of Crete, a poet and legislator, of whom we know nothing beyond his name, was the precursor of laws at Lacedæmon. He consented, through friendship for Lycurgus, to repair to Sparta, for the purpose of preparing the public mind in favour of the revolution, by the softness of his song, and the purity of his doctrine. These great men

were aware that people must not be precipitated into extremes, when it is desirable that reforms should be permanent. There is no real revolution, unless it is effected in the heart. The course of ideas may be prevented for a moment; but unless the source, from which they flow, be changed, they will soon resume their ordinary channel.

Thus did the philosophers of antiquity soften the rigour of wisdom, by imparting to it the embellishments of the Muses. Among the moderns, the English have had the honour of being the first in applying poetry to useful subjects. As to ourselves we have been prepared for manners and morals by *La Pucelle*, and other works which I dare not name.

CHAP. XVI.

The Middle Ages.

THE age, which immediately followed that of Lycurgus, supplies the names of several legislators; but their writings have not descended to us.

In the subsequent age appeared Tyrtaeus, whose poems caused injustice to triumph; Archilochus, loaded with crimes and genius, who afforded the first example of a man daring to publish the inward history of his conscience in the face of the universe; and Hipponax, exhaling gall and hatred. The spirit of the times breathes in every line of these poets. Vehemence and enthusiasm reign in the passions which they have depicted. This was the age of energy, though it was not that of the greatest

liberty. The remark is not frivolous; it detects and announces that fermentation, which foreruns and announces the periodical return of national revolutions.

Draco likewise flourished at the same period. He had composed a work, which J. J. Rousseau has given us in his sublime *Emily*. It was a treatise on education, in which taking man from his birth, he conducted him through the miseries of life to his tomb. The revolutions of Greece and France were preceded nearly by the same writings.

Epimenides attempted, like Fenelon, to lead mankind to happiness by love and respect for the Gods. Were I not fearful of mixing small things with great ones, I would add that he paid his tribute to our revolution by furnishing M. Flins with the subject of his ingenious comedy, called *The Resurrection of Epimenides*. *

Unfortunately our case is different. What comparison can we discover between the books of a moral age, and those of the Regent's time, or Louis the Fifteenth's? It is in vain that we deceive ourselves. If, in spite of Condorcet and the host of modern philosophers, we judge of the present by the past; if one age always suggests an idea of that which is to follow, I know what awaits us.

* Le Rêveil d' Epiménide,

CHAP. XVII.

The Age of Solon.

THIS was the epoch at which occurred one of the greatest revolutions in the human mind, and it was, at the same time, a period of the greatest changes in political affairs. All the seeds of the sciences, which had been so long fermenting in Greece, burst forth together. Knowledge did not arrive, as in our days, at the zenith of its glory : but it reached that moderate height, at which it enlightens, without dazzling mankind. They saw with sufficient clearness to keep in the track of liberty, and did not lose themselves in the mazes of unknown systems. They had just that quantity of intelligence which shews us principles, but not that excess of it which leads us to doubt the truth of them. Tragedy took its rise under Thespis ; comedy under Susarion ; fable under Æsop ; history under Cadmus ; astronomy under Thales ; and grammar under Simonides. Architecture was brought to perfection by Memnon and Antimachides ; sculpture by a multitude of statuarys ; but philosophy and politics more particularly soared to a height before unknown. A croud of public writers and legislators at once appeared in Greece, and gave the signal of a general revolution. Thus Locke, Montesquieu, J. J. Rousseau, &c. when they arose in Europe, imparted to modern nations ideas of liberty.

Let us first cast a glance at the fine arts.

CHAP. XVIII.

Poetry of Athens.—Anacreon and Voltaire.—Simonides and Fontanes.—Sappho and Parney.—Alceus.—Æsop and Nivernois.—Solon and the two Rousseaus.

When Pisistratus usurped the sovereign authority, he perceived that to preserve his influence over a fickle nation he must amuse it with festivals; for mankind is more easily held by flowers than fetters. He filled his country with monuments of genius and the arts. His sons, imitating his example, made their court a rendezvous for the enlightened men of Greece. The capital of Attica resounded, like that of France, with the noise of poetry and revelry. Let us hear the song of Anacreon when eighty years old, and that of Voltaire in his age, amidst the brilliant circles of Athens and Paris.

If hoarded gold possess'd a power
To lengthen life's too fleeting hour,
And purchase from the hand of death
A little span, a moment's breath,
How I would love the precious ore!
And every day should swell my store;
That when the Fates would send their minion,
To waft me off on shadowy pinion,
I might some hours of life obtain,
And bribe him back to hell again.
But, since we ne'er can charm away
The mandate of that awful day,
Why do we vainly weep at fate,
And sigh for life's uncertain state?

The light of gold can ne'er illume
 The dreary midnight of the tomb !
 And why should I then pant for treasures ?
 Mine be the brilliant round of pleasures ;
 The goblet rich, the board of friends,
 Whose flowing souls the goblet blends !
 Mine be the nymph whose form reposes
 Seductive on that bed of roses ;
 And oh ! be mine the soul's excess,
 Expiring in her warm caress !

Moore's Translation of Anacreon, Ode XXXVI.

Wish you that I still should love ?
 Blame you my attentions cold ?
 Let the gracious pow'rs above
 Make me feel I am not old.
 Cupid mocks my wither'd prime,
 Bacchus yields in vain his store ;
 Bending to the will of Time,
 I must quaff and love no more.
 Let me still with caution sage
 Sip at least the cup of joy ;
 Let not sorrow join with age
 Ev'ry comfort to destroy.
 Thus did I my fate lament,
 Frail and weak my future hope,
 Jocund youth, alas, was spent,
 Who with age can gayly cope ?
 But from yonder kindred skies
 Lo, a blessed genius came ;
 Courteous, winning was his guise,
 Friendship his endearing name.
 Friendship can with placid pow'r
 Many a weary hour beguile ;
 But I weep that love no more
 Deigns to cast on me a smile.

(Voltaire's Poetic Works.)

These two pieces will shew that good company is every where the same, and that a similar style of expression prevailed at the court of Hipparchus as at those of Louis XV and XVI. They prove too that a nation, which thinks with so much delicacy, is rapidly proceeding from a state of primitive simplicity, and is consequently approaching the period of revolutions.

Simonides flourished nearly at the same time as the bard of Teos, breathing strains of the mildest philosophy, and excelling in songs, of which the Gods formed the subject; but when he drew from his lyre the plaintive tones of elegy, the sadness and sweetness of his numbers threw the soul into a state of indescribable feeling. His morality tended in some degree to check enthusiasm as to the sublime. He said that virtue dwells upon steep rocks, which man is incapable of climbing, and that in making the attempt, he must be swallowed in the abyss at their feet; that there is no such thing as perfection; that we ought to lament but not censure human weakness; that we only live for a moment, but die for ever; and that the moment of life is given for enjoyment.

If any thing can convey to us an idea of the mingled religion and melancholy, which prevail through the writings of the poet of Ceos, it will be found in the fragments which I subjoin. M. de Fontanes may be justly called the Symonides of France. I only regret that I cannot insert his

whole poem ; but unfortunately the plan of this essay does not allow it.

The work is entitled *The Day of Death*, and describes a festival of the Roman church, which is annually celebrated on the 2d of November.

Now in the heights of heav'n his cruel bow
Had Sagittarius drawn, and o'er the earth
Spread wide his ravages. The hills and plains,
And ev'ry meadow, florid late and green,
Now to the eye shew'd vegetation's wreck.
November had begun his dark career,
But I in rural comfort mark'd the force,
With which he urg'd his way. Who has not felt
The beauties of a grand autumnal scene ?
Oh, with what pleasure thro' these dingy haunts
Pale melancholy roams at eve's approach,
Seeking the yellow woods, and list'ning sad
To the dull gale which sheds their leafy pride.
I know not why I like this gloomy sound,
But when it thro' the trembling forest creeps,
I feel as if some dear departed friend
Murmur'd remembrance 'mong the cadent leaves.

A venerable priest is next described, who consoles the dying, and relieves the afflicted. The just man then repairs to the temple, and an account of the ceremony is given.

He said, and straight the sacrifice prepar'd,
Now raising to propitious heav'n his arms,
Now bending low in adoration meek.
Oh solemn moment ! To behold them thus
Prostrate within the temple's holy walls,
Thick cover'd with the moss of many an age ;
The " dim religious light " upon them shed
From the huge gothic windows ; to behold

The brazen lamp, which flam'd in former times
 By day and night, as symbol of the sun
 And of eternity before the Lord!
 Then to behold the tears, and earnest looks;
 And incense smoke that from the altar mounts!
 To hear the youthful beauteous female choir,
 Who, chaunting under the maternal eye,
 Soften, by innocence of mien and voice,
 Religion's solemn pomp—the organ too,
 Which but a moment since swell'd high the peal,
 Now into pious silence sinking slow.
 Union invisible of heav'n and earth!
 Oh hapless he that is not mov'd, inflam'd,
 Exal'd by a scene like this! For me, I thought
 That I had pass'd the confines of our world,
 And reach'd the realm, where, on their harps of gold,
 Th' immortal Seraphim in concert pour
 Endless hosannas at th' Almighty's feet.

The crowd, preceded by the cross, and mixing
 its pious hymns with the distant murmers of the
 storm, proceeds towards the asylum of the dead.
 There the widow laments the loss of her husband,
 the virgin of her lover, the mother of her infant.
 The procession marches thrice round the tombs,
 and thrice the holy water is sprinkled on the earth.
 The people then disperse, an autumnal tempest
 takes place, and finally the sun re-appears in the
 heavens.

The fate of Simonides was nearly similar to that
 of the French poets in our days. He lived dur-
 ing the two *regimes* at Athens, the monarchy un-
 der the Pisistratides, and the republic after their
 expulsion. Having witnessed the victories of the
 Greeks over the Persians, he celebrated them in

triumphant hymns. Having received many favours from Hipparchus, he chaunted the praises of that prince; and he also praised beyond all bounds the assassins of his benefactor. Fallen monarchs should expect more ingratitude than other men, because they have conferred more favors.*

Anacreon and Simonides were, however, not the only poets who had gained immortality. All Greece, at that time, repeated the lines of Sappho, who was equally celebrated for her vices and genius. It was reserved for our age to recal the immorality of the taste, by which the tenth muse was distinguished. I am willing to believe that depravity like hers did not exist among us in the elevated ranks of society, though calumny, the attendant of misfortune, has found pleasure in making this accusation. Sappho had a still more direct influence on the age, in which she lived, by inspiring the women of Lesbos with a love of letters; but her moral conduct excites suspicions, which the following stanzas are not calculated to remove.

* I was one day lamenting to a friend, who is a man of great merit in every respect, that such an unfortunate flexibility of opinion should sometimes obscure the brightest qualities. In return he made this observation, which proves his great feeling as much as the excellence of his judgment. "Literary men" said he, "are too freely condemned by the rest of society: Born with superior sensibility, they are more vividly affected than others. Hence the rapid alteration in their ideas, their affections, and their animosities, especially if the new object has some appearance of grandeur. Moreover, most of them are poor; and the first endeavour of every one is to acquire the means of existence."

To her female Friend.

Oh happy lot to see thy witching smile,
 To feel thy sigh my own responsive meet,
 The hour with thy dear converse to beguile,
 What gift can heav'n bestow that's half so sweet!

Whene'er thy matchless beauty I behold,
 Love glows in ev'ry vein with subtle fires;
 My soul gives way to transport uncontroll'd,
 And e'en the pow'r of speech in bliss expires.

I feel as if each faculty had ceas'd,
 Dim objects flit confus'd across my eye,
 Breathless upon thy look alone I feast,
 Bend to the will of love and trembling die.

To this fragment by the Muse of Mytilene, let us oppose a passage by the Chevalier de Parny, the only elegiac poet that France has yet produced. The manners of nations are often as well displayed by love sonnets, as by philosophical discussions.

The Delirium of Love.

'Tis gone, the ecstatic moment's gone,
 Its swiftness mock'd my warm desires,
 Yet still, dear girl, 'twas sweet, I own,
 More sweet that thou didst share my fires.
 Open those eyes—oh, let my kindling kiss
 From languor wake thee to new scenes of bliss.

Fair Leonora, let these arms
 Thy trembling lovely limbs infold,
 Grant me again those heav'nly charms,
 And pardon if I seem too bold.
 Oh, on thy happy swain the smile bestow,
 That courses through his veins with subtle glow.

Still nearer come—I feel thy heart
 In warm responses beat to mine;

Thy breathings through my bosom dart,
 Thy lips return the pledge divine.
 Sweet object of my flame — ayaunt, controul!
 In this transported kiss receive my soul.

I leave it to the decision of the reader, whether the Tibullus of France, or the mistress of Phaon has depicted the passion in the most glowing colours. Both these writers seem to have had their poetic powers stimulated by the warmth of the climate in which they were born.*

It would have been curious to examine how Alcæus, when driven from Mytilene by a revolution, sung the misfortunes of exile and tyranny; but unfortunately, none of his poetry has descended to us.

Æsop the fabulist flourished also in the age I am now describing. Happening to pass through Athens, and finding the citizens impatient under the yoke of Pisistratus, he said to them:

“The frogs, tired of liberty, implored of Jupiter a king. The king of the Gods smiled at their silly prayer, but they redoubled their importunities, and he found himself obliged to yield to their clamour. Accordingly, he threw down a log from Olympus, which made the whole marsh shake by its fall. The frogs, struck dumb with terror, preserved at first profound silence, but afterwards ventured to salute the new prince, and tremblingly approached him. In a short time they proceeded from fear to the most indecent familiarity. They leaped upon the monarch, and insulted him for want of spirit, and for his tranquil virtues. They now made another application to Jupiter, and he sent them a stork, which marched proudly through its domain, swallowing every subject it beheld. This caused the greatest lamen-

* M. de Parry is a native of the Isle of Bourbon.

tation, but the father of Olympus refused to hear any further complaints. He chose that the frogs should groan under a tyrant, because they had been dissatisfied with a good king."

With what forcible truth does this fable strike the mind of every Frenchman! How completely is it the description of his own country!

In addition to her immortal fabulist, France has possessed another, who lived nearly at the time of the unhappy revolution. M. de Nivernois has neither the simplicity of Æsop, nor the *naïveté* of Lafontaine; but his style is argumentative and elegant, displaying the mind of an experienced man who had kept good company.

CUPID AND THE BUTTERFLY.

A Fable.

A wand'ring butterfly one day
Met wily Cupid on his way,
And thus complained: "They speak but true
Who say no God's so strange as you.
For sure if ever Fate design'd
Two beings to be close combin'd,
'Twas you and I. Our natures meet,
The similarity's complete.
Who but myself should be employ'd
To guide throughout the airy void
Your restless chariot, yet forsooth,
The only bird of steady truth
You fix upon with judgment nice!
Now listen, sir, to my advice.
Let Hymen take the placid dove,
For what has it to do with love,
And yoke me to your Godship's car,
More fitted to your use by far."

"Friend," answer'd Cupid, "I assent
 To what thou say'st as argument;
 'Tis true that we are like each other,
 As much as brother is to brother;
 But short would be my sway, I ween,
 Were thou and I together seen.
 True happiness, to thee unknown,
 Exists in constancy alone;
 And this, according to my plan,
 My chariot doves announce to man.
 My vot'ries, on illusion fed,
 Are by these very doves misled;
 Were I not thus to cheat their gaze,
 No altars would to Cupid blaze.
 In ev'ry age, in ev'ry land,
 Love and deceit go hand in hand."

It is time to give the reader a precious relic of literature. Solon* is known to the whole world as a legislator, but by only few as a poet, and those men of letters. Several fragments of his elegies have reached us. I will translate, or make extracts from them, according to their merit, or their mediocrity.

Illustrious daughters of Mnemosyne,
 And great Olympian Jupiter, who dwell
 On the Pierian mount, oh mark my pray'r!
 Cause through your influence the immortal Gods
 To grant me happiness and the regard

* I ought to mention that the order of dates has not been strictly followed in this chapter. The natural succession of authors was Alcæus, Sappho, Æsop, Solon, Anacreon, Simonides. It was more convenient, in the management of my subject, to make this slight alteration, which is of no consequence to the reader.

Of honest men. Oh, let me ever find
 Respectful welcome from the friends I love.
 While in the estimation of my foes
 My character is gloomy and severe,
 Let me appear to friends in winning garb,
 But to my enemies most terrible.

A little gold will satisfy my wants,
 But heav'n forbid that it should ever be
 The earnings of injustice! Such a crime
 Sooner or later finds its due reward.

The riches, which the gracious Gods bestow,
 Are durable; but those, which men amass,
 Are oft accompanied by dire regrets,
 And by misfortune lost. Triumphant guilt
 Reigns but awhile—God is the end of all.

.....
 Like the swift gale, which to its utmost depth
 Disturbs the realms of ocean—like the gale,
 Which, after desolating all the plains,
 Rises to heav'n, where dwell th' immortal Pow'rs,
 And there diffuses by its influence
 Serenity unlook'd for—thus the sun,
 With manly beauty, casts an amorous smile
 On the glad earth, and lo! the clouds retire!
 Such is the vengeance of Almighty Jove!

.....
 Thou, who conceal'st within thy bosom crimes,
 Think not that they'll for ever be unknown.
 Now or hereafter fearful punishment
 Shall be thy lot; or if celestial ire
 O'ertake not thee, the fatal day will come
 When thy posterity, though innocent,
 Must pay the forfeit of their father's guilt.

.....
 Whate'er we are, or virtuous or deprav'd,
 Our own opinions ever seem the best
 Till fatal—then we straight arraign the Gods,
 Because we trusted to deceitful hopes.

The poet continues to pourtray human imbecility. The patient, labouring under an incurable malady, thinks he shall recover; the poor man expects riches; some expose themselves upon the waves; others tear open the bowels of the earth, &c.

Destiny grants to man both good and ill,
And what she hath reserv'd for us, we must
Perforce endure. There's danger to ourselves
In all our actions—e'en the very best.
The wise man's projects oft are seen to fail,
While the devices of the fool succeed.

The following passage is extremely interesting, inasmuch as it pourtrays the moral state of Athens, at the moment of the revolution.

Ne'er would the city of Minerva fall
By fate's decree; but her own citizens
With ruthless hand will overturn her pow'r.
Insensate nation and insensate chiefs,
Who cannot satisfy your mad desires,
And peaceably enjoy your hoards of wealth,
But must deserve misfortune by your crimes!
Pursue your wild career—let ev'ry one,
Without regard to private property,
Or to the public treasure, boldly seize
The lands which to his neighbour appertain,
And pillage the revenues of the state;
Defying justice and her sacred laws.
Justice, however, silently will keep
Account of all—the present she observes,
And soon or late upon the guilty head
Will punishment inflict. Behold the cause
Of the dark evils which afflict a state.
This is the origin of slavery;
By this sedition's fire is lighted up,

And all the horrors of tumultuous war,
Sweeping away our ardent youth. Alas,
I see by foes our native land assail'd;
Battles, the source of tears, are lost and won, &c.

Solon finishes by exhorting his fellow citizens to change their morals, recommending, above all, the practice of justice.

Justice, of all good acts the mother pure,
Tempers our violence, suppresses pride,
Corrects the laws, restrains the fervid course
Of the enthusiast, and keeps in bounds
The torrent of sedition, fatal else.

These political elegies, if I may be allowed the expression, are accompanied by some other poetic pieces of a different character. The one on Man, when accompanied by the stanzas of Jean Baptiste Rousseau, will furnish an agreeable comparison. A prose translation of the former will, perhaps in this case, better effect our purpose.

"Jupiter gives teeth to man during the first seven years of his life. Before he has lived seven more, he announces his approach to virility. During the next period, his limbs develope into form, and a changing down shades his chin. The fourth period brings him to full vigour, and urges the display of courage. The fifth engages him in the solemnization of nuptial ceremony, and the creation of posterity. During the sixth, his genius bends to every thing, refusing only coarse mechanical labour. In the seventh, he acquires the highest degree of wisdom and eloquence; in the eighth, he adds to this a knowledge of mankind; and in the ninth, commences his decline. He, whose career extends to seven years more, submits to death without complaining that he has been surprised."

Ode on Man.

Man is the child of grief and care ;
 When first he sees the light,
 He weeps and cries, as if aware
 Of fortune's future spite.

In boyhood his expanding pow'rs
 More keenly feel their pain ;
 Scholastic study claims his hours,
 The pedant swings his cane.

Next he of youth the ardour feels,
 But then his lot is worse ;
 Duns are for ever at his heels,
 A mistress drains his purse.

When in his prime 'tis still the same,
 By losses now he's vex'd,
 Urg'd onward by the love of fame,
 With household cares perplex'd.

Crabbed old age at last arrives,
 Contempt is then his doom,
 'Gainst gout and other ills he strives,
 And sinks into the tomb.*

(*J. B. Rousseau.*)

Solon and Jean Baptiste Rousseau did not represent the same man, but availed themselves of different models. The one worked on the fine antique, the other on the gothic forms of his age. Their pencils were dipped in the colours of their recollections.

It remains for me to make a painful remark.

* The English reader will feel a degree of national pride when he calls to mind Shakspeare's masterly management of the same subject in *As You Like It*.

Translator.

The severe author of the laws against good morals, the restorer of virtue to his country, Solon himself, polluted the sanctity of his character as a legislator by the licentiousness of his muse. Time has destroyed his writings, but the recollection of them is carefully preserved. Some lines, which, though innocent enough, betray a taste for enjoyments, have been eagerly noticed.

May Venus with the bosom fair,
Which fragrance all around exhales,
Make me her own peculiar care,
And grant my bark propitious gales ;
On me, her vot'ry, may she smile,
And speed me to the far-fam'd isle !
Oh fascinating queen of love,
Thy gifts are to my bosom dear !
Bacchus, thy grape can grief remove,
And welcome to me is thy cheer !
And welcome are the Muses nine
That bid to flow the careless line.

It is in this style that the author of the *Social Contract* and *Emily* writes.

" Oh let us die, my gentle friend, let us die, best-beloved of my heart. Of what value can insipid youth henceforth be to us, when we have exhausted its delights ?"

.....

" No, those are not the transports which I most regret. Restore to me that perfect union of souls, which thou didst introduce to my knowledge, and which thou hast so completely taught me to feel ; restore to me that soft depression attendant on the effusions of our hearts ; restore to me the enchanting slumbers which I enjoyed upon thy bosom ; restore to me the still more delicious sensation of awaking there ; the broken sighs, the blissful tears, the kisses which voluptuous languor made us slowly interchange,

and those tender moans, during which thou hast so often pressed a kindred heart to thine."—*New Eloisa, Vol. II.*

Good young man, if perchance thou art my reader, and thine eyes are obscured by tears at this example of human fragility, cultivate the precious sensibility from which those tears arise, the genuine proof of genius. As for thee, man boasting perfection, whose contemptuous smile I at this moment espy, look to thy inward self; crown thy merits with thy own solitary plaudits if thou canst. I do not wish to have thee, either as my friend or reader.

CHAP. XIX.

Poetry of Sparta.—First Song of Tyrtæus; Le Brun. Second Song of Tyrtæus; the Marseillois Hymn.—Spartan Chorus; Strophe of Children.—Song in honour of Harmodius; Epitaph on Marat.

WHILE Pisistratus and his sons endeavoured, through the medium of the fine arts, to corrupt the Athenians, for the purpose of enslaving them, the same talents had in Lacedæmon the effect of preserving the morals of the people. It is thus that vice and virtue know how to make a different use of the gifts dispensed by Heaven.

The songs of Tyrtæus, which had heretofore effected victory, were still repeated by the Spartans. They deserve all the reputation they enjoy. Nothing is more beautiful, more noble than the

fragments of them, which have descended to us.
I cannot refrain from presenting them to the reader.

First Martial Song.

The man's unfit for war that cannot view,
With eye serene, the tide of human blood,
Yet burn to wreak his vengeance on the foe.
Martial exploits are crown'd with richest meed,
And shed a lustre on the hero brave.
How truly useful to his native land
Becomes the youth, who in the foremost ranks
Boldly advances, firmly takes his stand,
Scorns ev'ry thought of a disgraceful flight,
Rushes where danger summons, and assails
All that oppose his passage ! Such a youth
Is excellent, of the community
A most effective member. Threat'ning hosts
Vanish before him ; and his valiant soul
Guides victory obedient to its will.
But if his buckler should perchance be pierc'd
By countless arrows, and his hour be come,
Still on the field of glory he expires,
And oh, how honourably for the land
That gave him birth, how honourably too
For all his fellow citizens and sire !
The old and young alike lament his loss ;
A nation's love accompanies his fall ;
His tomb, his children, his posterity,
In distant generations, gain respect.
Who falls to save his country never dies,
But leaves behind him an immortal name.

This is sublime. There is no false glow in it, no torture of words, not any of that modern ornamental trickery, of which Voltaire began to complain, and which La Harpe, as well as other

distinguished literary censors, since attempted in vain to repress. The French have also celebrated their battles. M. le Brun has proclaimed the victories of the republic in a song, of which the following stanza will convey an idea.

Ever memorable day,
 Long to live in story !
 Where's the language can pourtray
 France's martial glory ?
 See the baffled foe retires,
 Or in the dark flood expires !
 Let our voices reach the sky,
 Swell the strain of victory !
 How delightful the banquet, when Bacchus unites
 With Apollo and Mars to complete our delights.

In the second song of Tyrtæus, which I sub-join, the poet has displayed all the resources of his genius. Pathetic and elevated at the same time, his poetry groans with his country, or glows with the fire of heroism. He summonses all the passions to his aid, and touches all the chords of the human heart, for the purpose of inciting the young warrior to defend his native land. It was doubtless such a song as this, which rallied the routed Lacedæmonians a third time to the charge, and made them conquer in despite of fate.

Second Martial Song.

How glorious in the foremost rank to fall,
 While fighting for the land that gave us birth !
 What dire calamity can equal his,
 Who from his country is compell'd to fly,
 Quitting each spot familiar from his birth,
 Quitting his honoured parents, bending now

Beneath the weight of age, his tender wife,
 And the dear pledges of their mutual love,
 To wander forth, and in a foreign land
 Eat mis'ry's bitter bread ! A man like this
 Becomes the scorn of ev'ry fellow man.
 His looks betray gaunt poverty, his form
 Yields to a mind diseas'd, and wastes away.
 His name is mention'd with degrading scoff,
 Till harden'd into woe he loses shame,
 And ceases e'en to blush. Oh, let us die,
 If die we must, defending Sparta's cause,
 Our relatives belov'd and liberty.
 Heroes of Lacedæmon, let us fight
 In close united phalanx, scorning all
 The thought of fear or flight. With gen'rous fire,
 And prodigal of life, attack the foe.
 Beware, ye ardent young, lest ye expose
 The vet'ran grey, whose knees are waxing stiff
 With age and service. What a sad disgrace,
 Should the sire fall in fight before the son !
 How shocking to behold him in the dust,
 With venerable locks and silver beard,
 Wounded and by the hostile spoiler stripp'd,
 While with his feeble hands he still attempts
 To hide his bleeding nakedness ! Reflect
 How short the interval since this old man
 Was, like yourselves, a warrior full of fire !
 While living, all admired him, and in death
 Award to him with gratitude the crown
 Of victory. Oh Spartans, let us march
 Against the enemy with stedfast step,
 Each hero firmly station'd at his post,
 And resolutely bent to crush the foe !

The Marseillois hymn* is not devoid of merit.

* I believe that a M. de Lille was the author of this hymn, but not the writer of that name who translated the Georgics.

The lyrist possesses the great talent of animating his song to a pitch of enthusiasm without being inflated. In other respects, this republican ode will be preserved, because it formed an epoch in our revolution. It also led many weak Frenchmen to victory, and a stanza, therefore, as a specimen, cannot have a better place than after the poet's songs, who caused Lacedæmon to triumph. We may deduce from them all this afflicting lesson, that, in every age, men have been mere machines, urged into action by words.

The Marseillois Hymn.

Sons of our country, haste away !
 The day of glory's come ;
 Tyrants their standard foul display,
 Threat'ning to seal our doom,
 To violate our partners dear,
 And from our arms our infants tear.

To arms ! Arrange your ranks, advance, and flood
 Our furrow'd fields with their polluted blood.

Chorus.

To arms ! &c.

At the festivals of Lacedæmon the citizens
 sung in chorus.

The Old Men.

We once were young, and bold, and strong,
 And rush'd into the battle's throng.

The Adults.

Thus are we now, and eager all
 To conquer, or to nobly fall.

The Children.

And we, 'ere long, shall be the same ;
 Then we'll surpass your warlike fame.

Hence the French, perhaps, borrowed the children's strophe, added to the Marseillois hymn.

When we our bold career begin,
 Our sires will be no more ;
 But dauntless we will fight to win
 The meed they gain'd before :
 Avenge their wrongs, destroy their foes,
 Or with them in the grave repose.

We will end this article with the lines which were sung in Greece to the honour of the assassins of Hipparchus, and the epitaph which the French wrote in praise of Marat. The misery and malice of mankind find pleasure in repeating the names that bring to recollection the calamities of princes. The former experiences a degree of consolation ; the latter feeds itself on the misfortunes of others. There are only a small number of obscure beings that weep in silence.

Song in honour of Harmodius and Aristogiton.

I'll wear my sword with myrtle leaves adorn'd,
 As young Harmodius did, when with his friend,
 Brave Aristogiton, the King he slew,
 Establishing in Athens equal laws.
 Belov'd Harmodius ! still thou art not dead ;
 Oh, no ; thou wander'st in the blissful realms
 Where dwell renown'd Achilles, swift of foot,
 And the great son of Tydeus, Diomed.
 I'll wear my sword with myrtle leaves adorn'd,
 As young Harmodius did, when with his friend,
 Brave Aristogiton, the king he slew
 Amidst the Panathenian revelry.
 Eternal, dear Harmodius, be thy fame,
 And thine, dear Aristogiton, for you

Releas'd your country from the tyrant's sway,
Establishing in Athens equal laws !

When submitting to the reader the epitaph on Marat, as a counterpart to the above in point of subject, I beg pardon for recalling to his mind the idea of such a monster, and more especially through the medium of such miserable lines,* but it is necessary to display the spirit of the times.

Epitaph on Marat.

Marat, the friend of the people and of equality, after escaping from a dungeon, and the rage of aristocracy, hurled the thunder of his masculine genius against the enemy of liberty. A parricidal hand dared to deprive of life this ever persecuted republican ; but the grateful nation, as a reward to his undeviating virtue, transmits his renown to posterity.

CHAP. XX.

Philosophy and Politics.—The Sages and the Encyclopedists.—Opinions as to the best Government.—Thales, Solon, Periander, &c. J. J. Rousseau, Montesquieu.—Morals.—Solon, Thales, La Rochefoucault, Chamfort.—Comparison of J. J. Rousseau and Heraclitus.—Letters to Darius and the King of Prussia.

While the fine arts continued to be displayed in every part of Greece, politics and morals proceed-

* M. de Chateaubriand's just censure of the original poetry will be a sufficient apology to the reader for my not giving a metrical imitation, which I have, in other instances, humbly attempted.

ed in concert with them. A sort of assembly was formed, under the appellation of the sages, in the same manner as we have seen a similar society in France, called the Encyclopedists. But the sages of antiquity merited that appellation; for they seriously employed themselves in promoting public happiness, not in forming idle systems, and were very unlike the sophists who followed them. The latter perfectly resembled our philosophers.

At the head of the sages appeared Thales of Miletus, an astronomer, and founder of the Ionian sect. His doctrine was that water is the principal material of the universe, upon which God has acted. It was he who scattered through Greece the first seeds of that metaphysical spirit, so useless to mankind, which subsequently did so much harm to his country, and which has been fatal in our own age.

Chilon, Bias, and Cleobulus are hardly known. Pittacus and Periander, in spite of their virtues, consented to become the tyrants of their country. The former reigned at Mytilene, the latter at Corinth. Perhaps they thought, like Cicero, that sovereignty has its first existence, not in the will of the people, but in the strength of genius.

The following are the opinions of these philosophers as to the best species of government:

According to Solon, it is that in which the collective body of citizens takes a part when an injury is offered to the individual:

According to Bias, it is that in which the law is despotic :

According to Thales, that in which equality of property prevails :

According to Cleobulus, that in which the fear of disgrace is stronger than the law :

According to Chilon, that in which the law speaks instead of the lawyer :

According to Periander, that in which the power is confided to a small number.

Montesquieu leaves this great question undecided. He points out the different principles of governments, and satisfies himself by making it understood that he gives a preference to limited monarchy. "How should I," says he somewhere, "decide upon the excellence of institutions—I who believe that excessive sense is pernicious, and that mankind are more fitted for a medium than for extremes?"

"When a person asks what is the best mode of government," says J. J. Rousseau, "he puts a question, which is insoluble and indefinite; or if he likes it better, he puts a question to which there are as many answers as there are absolute or relative conditions of nations."

Let us now examine the morals of the sages.

"In every thing let reason be thy guide. Contemplate the beautiful. In every undertaking consider the end. There are three difficult things; to keep a secret, to endure an injury, and to employ the hours of leisure. Visit thy friend in misfortune.

rather than in prosperity. Never insult the unfortunate. Gold is known by the touchstone, and the touchstone of man is gold. Know thyself. Do not unto others what thou wouldst not have them do to thee. Know how to avail thyself of a favourable opportunity. The greatest of misfortunes is the inability to endure adversity with patience. Ascribe to the gods all the good which they enable thee to do. Forget not the distressed. When thou leav'st thy house consider what thou hast to do ; when thou return'st what thou hast done. Pleasure is of short duration, but virtue is immortal. Conceal thy vexations."

Next let us display our modern philosophy.

"It is not so dangerous to inflict evil on most men, as to confer favors on them. Kings make men like pieces of coin, imparting to them what value they please ; and the world is obliged to receive them according to this rate, and not according to their intrinsic worth. We like better to speak ill of ourselves than not to speak of ourselves at all. You may bet a wager that every public idea and established social contract is a folly, because it suited the opinion of a majority. Weak people are the light troops of the wicked ; they do more injury than the main army itself ; for they infest a country and commit ravages. It must be acknowledged that the man, who is to live in this world, must have some properties of his soul entirely *paralyzed*. One of the finest allegories in the bible is that, which describes the tree of knowledge and of good and evil as producing death. Are we not to infer from this account that when we have penetrated to the bottom of subjects, the loss of illusion produces a death of the soul, that is to say, complete disinterestedness with regard to every event concerning other men ?"*

* I invite the reader to peruse *The Maxims of Chamfort*, (forming the fourth volume of his complete works) published at Paris, by M. de Guinguen , himself a man of letters, and a friend to the unfortunate academicians. The sensibility, the original turn, and the depth of thought displayed by the author, make it one of the most interesting as well as the best works published in the present age. Those, who were acquainted with M. de

Solon, foreseeing the dangers to which morals were exposed from dramatic representation, said

Chamfort, know that his conversation possessed the same merit as his writings. I have often met him at the house of M. de Ginguené, and he has more than once been the cause of my passing some happy moments, when he consented, with a chosen few, to accept a supper in my family. We listened to him with that respectful pleasure, which a man of superior information produces. His mind was furnished with the most curious anecdotes, and he was, perhaps, rather too fond of relating them. As I do not find any of those, which I have heard him quote, in the last publication of his works, it is probable that they were lost by the accident that M. de Ginguené mentions. One of them, which describes the manners of the age before the revolution, has left a strong impression on my memory. "A courtier" (fortunately I do not remember his name) "was amusing himself in the *boulevards* by pointing out to an innocent girl, who was his step-daughter, all the other courtiers as they passed in their carriages, telling her to chuse a lover among them, and recounting to her their intrigues with such and such a woman. "Is it possible," exclaimed Chamfort, "that such a state of moral order should long exist?"

Chamfort was in person below the middle size, not perfectly straight, and of a pale sickly complexion. His blue eye was often cold and downcast, but it flashed fire when he was animated. His nostrils were somewhat open, imparting to his countenance an expression of sensibility and energy. His voice was flexible; its modulations accorded with the movements of his soul; but during the latter part of my residence at Paris, it assumed a degree of asperity; and the agitated imperious tone of faction was frequently discoverable in it.

I have thought that a few words, respecting a man so celebrated during the revolution, would not displease the reader. The account of him, which M. de Ginguené has prefixed to the edition of his works, will, in other respects, satisfy all who admire the correct, the elegant, and the chaste; but to those who, like myself, know the great intimacy that existed between

to Thespiſ : “ If we allow your fictions, we ſhall ſhortly have deception introduced into our moſt ſacred engagements.” J. J. Rouſſeau thus wrote to D’Alembert.

“ I think it may be concluded, from the obſervations I have made, that the moral effect of dramatic representations never can be a good one, nor ſalutary in itſelf ; for in conſidering the advantages of ſuch performances, no ſort of real utility can be derived from them, without inconveniencies of a ſuperior nature. The theatre can do nothing towards the improvement of morals, but much to corrupt them. By favouring all our inclinations, it imparts a new aſcendancy to thoſe by which we are governed. The continual emotions, raiſed by it, enervate us, and make us ſtill more incapable of reſiſting our paſſions ; while the barren intereſt, which we feel in behalf of virtue, only ſerves to ſatisfy our vanity, without inducing us to adopt the practice of it.”

After theſe firſt ſages we find Heraclitus of Ephesus, who appears to have had the original ſtructure of mind, upon which nature moulded that of J. J. Rouſſeau. Like the illuſtrious citizen of Geneva, the Greek philoſopher was reared without the inſtruction of a maſter, and owed every thing to the vigour of his own genius. Like Rouſſeau he knew the baſeneſs of our inſtitutions, and wept for his fellow men. Like Rouſſeau he deemed knowledge uſeleſs towards the promotion of human happineſs ; like him too, on being invited to frame laws for a nation, he

M. de Chamfort and M. de Ginguen , who lodged in the ſame houſe, and were inſeparable companions, the account poſſeſſes additional intereſt. M. de Ginguen  writes in the third perſon, but the grief of the friend, ſtruggling with the calmneſs of the narrator, does not eſcape minds poſſeſſing ſenſibility.

considered his cotemporaries to be too depraved for the admission of good ones; and finally, accused like him of pride and misanthrophy, he was obliged to hide himself in the deserts, for the purpose of avoiding human society.

It will be useful to examine the letters, which these extraordinary men of genius wrote to the princes of their times.

Darius, the son of Hystaspes, had invited Heraclitus to his court. The philosopher answered thus :

Heraclitus to King Darius, son of Hystaspes, health !

Mankind trample truth and justice under foot. An insatiable desire of wealth and glory unceasingly pursues them. For my own part, I avoid ambition, envy, and the vain emulation attached to greatness, and shall not go to the court of Suza ; knowing how to be content with little, and disposing of that little according to the dictates of my heart.

To the King of Prussia.

Sire,

Motiers-Travers, 30th Oct. 1762.

You are my protector, my benefactor ; and I have a heart alive to the feelings of gratitude. I would willingly acquit myself of the debt I owe if I could.

Do you wish to give me bread ? Are there none of your subjects who want it ?

Remove from my view that sword which dazzles and wounds me ; it has but too well performed its services, and the sceptre is abandoned. The career of kings like you is grand, and you are still far from the period at which it may be supposed to end. Nevertheless, time is pressing onward, and not a moment is to be lost in attaining your object. Sound your heart, oh Frederick. Can you resolve to die without having been the greatest of men ?

Might I but see Frederick, the just and the renowned, cover his dominions with happy people, J. J. Rousseau, the enemy of kings, would die with joy at the foot of his throne.

May your Majesty deign to accept my profound respect !

The noble frankness of these two letters is worthy of the philosophers who wrote them ; but the moody temper of the man prevails in that of Heraclitus, while that of Rousseau is chastened by deference.

The mind is feelingly affected by the similarity of fate which these two great men experienced. Both were born in nearly the same circumstances, and at the eve of a revolution ; both were also persecuted for their opinions. Such is the spirit which governs us, that we can endure nothing in opposition to our contracted views and petty habits. We dictate boundaries to the ideas of others by measure of our own, and every thing, which goes beyond it, is revolting to us. " This is right," and " that is wrong," are expressions for ever proceeding from our lips. By what authority dare we decide thus ? Have we ascertained the secret motive of such or such an action ? Wretches that we are, do we know what is good and what is evil ? Shades of the gentle and sublime Heraclitus and Rousseau, what avails it that posterity has paid you a tribute of sterile honours ? When you lamented the misfortunes of your fellow creatures on this ungrateful earth, you had not a friend.

Let us look for the result of this comparative

account of knowledge. Let us see what striking difference appears between the definitions of the best government.

The sages of Greece contemplated man as to his moral relations; our philosophers as to his political ones. The first wished that government should be deduced from morals; the last, that morals should flow from government. The Athenian legislators, subsequent to the time of Lycurgus and Solon, expressed themselves in the sense of the moderns, the cause of which is to be found in the age. Plato, Aristotle, Montesquieu, and Jean Jacques Rousseau, lived in a corrupt age; it was necessary, therefore, to reform mankind by the laws; but under Thales it was necessary to reform the laws by mankind. I am afraid of not being understood, and therefore explain. Morals, taken in their absolute meaning, are our obedience or disobedience to that internal feeling which points out to us honesty and dishonesty, which induces us to do one thing and avoid another. Politics constitute that prodigious art by which a whole nation exists, though the individuals composing it differ widely as to morals in many instances.

The sages considered man under the relations which he bears to himself, and wished him to deduce his happiness from the recesses of his own soul. Our philosophers have viewed him with reference to his civil connections, and have attempted to make him levy his pleasures as a tax

on the rest of the community. Hence arise their different maxims. "Respect the Gods, and know yourself," said the ancients. "Purchase what society has to offer at the lowest price you can, and sell yourself at the highest," say the moderns.

In few words, the sum total of the two philosophies amounted to this. That of the best days of Greece was entirely founded on the existence of a Supreme Being; that of the present day is founded on atheism. The former considered morals, the latter policy. The former said to the people, Be virtuous and you will be free. The latter called to them, Be free and you will be virtuous. Greece, with such principles, became a republic, and attained happiness; but what have we attained by the opposite philosophy? Two angles of different degrees cannot produce two segments of the same length.

We will examine the state of knowledge among cotemporary nations, when we speak of the influence which the republican revolution of Greece had upon them. At present we will consider this influence as to Greece itself.

CHAP. XXI.

Influence of the Republican Revolution upon Greece.

THE Greeks and the French lived in profound tranquillity, submissive to their kings, whom a long succession of years had taught them to respect. Suddenly a vertigo of liberty seized them;

and the monarchs, who had been but the day before objects of their affection, were precipitated from the throne by a blow of the poniard. The fever communicated itself, and eternal war was declared against tyrants. Whatever nation wished to be rid of its master, was sure to find regicides. The infection spread from one quarter to another, 'till there at length remained not a single prince in Greece.* The French of the present day swore, in like manner, to destroy every sceptre.

Asia had recourse to arms in favour of a banished tyrant, and all Europe rose for the purpose of replacing a legitimate king upon the throne. The provinces of Greece and of France united their arms with those of foreign powers; Asia and Europe failed against a body of enthusiasts, whom they apparently ought to have annihilated. The republicans advanced to death, singing the hymn of Castor and that of the Marseillois. Miracles were achieved amidst shouts of *Liberty*. Greece and France boasted the days of Marathon, Salamis, Platea, Fleurus, Weissemberg and Lodi.

In both countries this was the age of wonders. The Athenians, equally ungrateful and capricious, imprisoned, poisoned, or banished their generals; the French forced theirs to emigrate, or massacred them. Let it not be inferred that success pro-

* Except among the Macedonians, whom the rest of the Greeks considered as barbarians. Alexander (not the Great) was obliged to prove that he originally came from Argos, before he could be admitted to the Olympian games.

duced degeneracy. No—the first man, taken at a venture, proved to be a genius. Themistocles succeeded Miltiades, Aristides Themistocles, and Cimon Aristides. In like manner, Dumourier supplied the place of Luckner, Custine of Dumourier, Jourdan of Custine, Pichegru of Jourdan, &c.

Thus it appears that the immediate effects of the revolution on the Greeks and French were the same—an implacable hatred of royalty, invincible valour in battle, and firmness to endure every trial of adversity. But the Greeks, being still a moral people, and having passed from a monarchy to a republic by long years of trial, were likely to gain advantages by their revolution, of which the French could entertain no hope. The souls of the former were beautifully open to the attractions of virtue. In their case, the spirit of liberty refined the age which gave it birth, and raised succeeding generations to a height that no other people has been able to reach. In their case they fought for a laurel-crown; they died in obedience to the sacred laws of their country. The illustrious candidate, who was rejected, felt happy that his country possessed three hundred citizens better than himself. The great man, unjustly condemned, wrote his name on the shell, or drank the hemlock. Virtue was then adored; but unfortunately the mysteries of its worship were carefully concealed from the rest of mankind.

If such was the influence of the republican revolution upon Greece, considered with regard

to happiness, it is not less remarkable on the score of adversity. Ambition, which forms the characteristic of popular governments, soon took possession of the republics, as was the case in France. The Athenians, not satisfied with having delivered their country, gave way to an early rage for conquest. The armies of Greece were multiplied on every shore, and no country was secure against their inroads. They spread, like a devouring fire, into the islands of the *Ægean* Sea, into Egypt, into Asia. The nations, however, which had been at first dazzled by their stupendous success, recovered by degrees from their astonishment, when they perceived that these great exploits did not so much tend towards independence as conquest, and that the Greeks, on becoming free, wished to subjugate all the rest of the world. By degrees a collective mass of hatred was accumulated against them; like those balls of snow, first rounded in the hands of a child, which roll onward and attain a monstrous size. In another respect, the Athenians, being enriched with the spoils of other nations, began to lose the principle of popular governments—virtue. In a short time the public places resounded only with the shouts of factious demagogues. The most lamentable dissensions ensued; and these little republics, at first united through misfortune, separated in prosperity, each wishing to domineer over Greece. Cruel wars, supported by the gold of Persia, more powerful than its arms, began on every side. To complete

these disorders, the human mind, released from all law by the influence of the revolution, gave birth, at the same moment, to all the master pieces of art, as well as to all the destructive systems of morality and society.* A crowd of *beaux esprits* wished to drag the Almighty from his throne, and bent their minds to the establishment of atheism. Multitudes of politicians published new plans of republics—an inundation of writings took place as to the true principles of liberty. Philip and Alexander appeared.

CHAP. XXII.

Political and Moral State of Cotemporaneous Nations, at the moment of the Republican Revolution in Greece. This Revolution considered with reference to other Nations. Circumstances which accelerated or retarded its Influence.

It is difficult to describe the nations, known at the time of the republican revolution in Greece,

* I advise the reader to study some general history of Greece. He will perceive, at the period of which I treat in this chapter, a resemblance to France which will astonish him. Towns taken and pillaged without remorse, the people forced to pay contributions, the neutrality of powers violated, and the other republics obliged by the Athenians to combine with them against states, which had given no offence to produce a war—insolence and injustice carried to their utmost pitch, the Athenians treating the ambassadors of other nations with the most marked contempt, and openly asserting that they knew no other right than force.

history being, at this period, full of obscurity and fable. I will attempt, however, to give the reader a general idea of them. We will first consider these nations separately, and we shall afterwards see them acting together, under the article on Persia, at the time of the Median war. Taking our departure from Egypt, then turning to the south, and describing a circle by the west and north, we will return to Persia, and finish in the east where we shall have begun. Fixed at Athens as a centre, we will follow the revolutionary rays which emanated from it, and reached the nations placed in different degrees of this vast circumference.

CHAP. XXIII.

Egypt.

AT the moment that tyranny was overthrown in Athens, Egypt was only a province of Persia. Hence it was exposed, like the rest of the state, to all the influence of the Greek revolution, and will be generally comprised in what I shall mention respecting the Empire of Cyrus. At present we will only examine some circumstances peculiar to it.

The Egyptians had lived, from time immemorial, under a theocratical government. Like the nations of India, from which they probably derived their origin, they were divided into three lower classes of labourers, herdsmen and artizans.

Every man was obliged to follow, in the regular succession which fate had allotted, the profession of his fathers, without being allowed to change his studies according to the bent of his genius, or the alteration in the times. What shall I say? Even this was not enough. In this land of slavery, the human mind was obliged to groan in still more galling chains. The artist could only follow one department of his studies, the medical man only one branch of his profession.

But in thus completely securing the ignorance of the people, their rulers had also increased the general turn for morality. They knew that it was in vain to fetter genius for the purpose of avoiding revolutions, unless they, at the same time, rooted out the vices, which lead to the same end by another road. Respect for their monarchs and religion, the love of justice,* and the practice of gratitude formed the code, by which society was regulated among the Egyptians; and if they were the most superstitious of men, they were also the most innocent.

Egypt had, at all times, carried on a considerable commerce with the Indies. Its vessels

* The custom of the Egyptians is well known, as to judgment after death, which even extended to their kings. Another custom, and not a less extraordinary one, was that, by which a debtor pledged the body of his father to his creditor. These sublime laws are too grand for our petty modern nations; they astonish and confound us; we admire, but no longer understand them, because we are deficient in the virtue which formed the secret of them.

sailed through the seas of Arabia and Persia in search of spices, ivory, and the silks of those distant regions. They proceeded as far as Ceylon, the inhabitants of which island, as well as those beyond Cape Comorin, carried their merchandize to Egypt when the periodical time of the floods allowed its conveyance, and received the gold of the West in return.

But while the people were systematically consigned to the most dreadful ignorance, the light of knowledge shone upon their priests, who acknowledged material and immaterial substances as the two principles of the universe. They called the one *Athor* and the other *Cneph*. The former, as they affirmed, had separated the confused elements, and produced all the effects, which they witnessed, by its action on the inert mass. Motion, heat, and the life spread throughout nature, suggested to their minds an infinity of means, in which they perceived an equal infinity of action. They believed that the emanations from the Supreme Being floated at large, and animated different parts of the universe. They considered the soul to be immortal, and Herodotus asserts that they were the first who taught this fundamental principle of all morality. They addressed this prayer to heaven at their funeral solemnities: "Oh Sun, and ye Powers that dispense life to man, receive me, and grant me to dwell among the immortal Gods!"—Other sects of priests inculcated the doctrine of a transmigration of souls.

The sciences of astronomy, geometry, medicine, chemistry, &c. were cultivated by the Egyptian priests with a success unknown to other nations, and especially to the Greeks at the time of their revolution. The sublime science of governments was also known to them ; for Pythagoras, Thales, Lycurgus and Solon were of their school, and sufficiently proved it.

The Egyptians could likewise boast of celebrated authors—the two Hermes, one of whom invented, and the other restored the arts, as well as Serapis, who gave instructions as to curing the diseases of his fellow creatures. Their books have perished in the revolutions of empires ; but their names are enrolled among the benefactors of mankind. If the alchemists are to be credited, the transmutation of metals was known to the learned men of Egypt.

It was in this country, the name of which no one, who admires literature, can mention otherwise than with respect, that we found the first libraries ; and as if nature had destined it to become the source of knowledge, she expressly caused the papyrus to grow there, for the purpose of fixing the fugitive discoveries of genius. Unfortunately the mysterious figures, under which the priests enveloped their studies, have deprived the world of immense information. I have a question to throw out for the consideration of the learned. The Egyptians were, in all probability, of Indian origin. Was not the philosophic lan-

guage of the former nation the same as the *Sanscrit* of the latter, which is now understood; and would it not, consequently, be possible to explain the one by means of the other?

When Cambyses collected under his sway the different nations, who were scattered on the borders of the Nile, he favored the propagation of the arts. 'Til that time the Egyptians were jealous of strangers, and allowed their presence at the mysteries with great repugnance; but when they became subjects of the Persian monarch, the entrance into their country was opened to the lovers of philosophy. It was from this corner of the world that the first beams of science shone on our horizon, and its light soon advanced from Egypt towards the west, like that of the radiant star, which came to us from the same coast.

CHAP. XXIV.

Obstacles to the Effect of the Grecian Revolution upon Egypt. Resemblance of the latter Country to modern Italy.

ON attentively examining the subject, two great causes may be observed, which tended to deaden the action of the Greek revolution upon Egypt. The first arises from the regular sub-division of classes in society. This institution imparts such an empire to custom, among the nations where it prevails, that their manners appear as im-

mutable as their states. It is in vain that such nations are subjugated; they change their master, but retain their character.* It is true that they are not entirely freed from internal commotions; for the mind of man, however oppressed by the weight of bondage, will, at intervals, burst its chains asunder, like the fabulous Titans, who, though buried in the abysses of Mount *Ætna*, still sometimes move under the enormous mass, and shake the foundations of the earth.

Besides this, another obstacle arose, still more insurmountable to the spirit of liberty, on account of its powerful effects on the soul, namely, superstition. The priests had too great an interest in concealing the truth from the people,† not to oppose, with all the resources of their art, the influence of a revolution, which would have unmasked their artifice. Man has only one real evil, the fear of death. Deliver him from that fear and you set him at liberty. All the religions of slaves are calculated to augment this fear. The sacerdotal body of Egypt had taken care to surround themselves with formidable mysteries, and infuse terror into the credulous minds of the multitude by the most monstrous images. In like manner, they supported the throne with all the force of their magic, in order that they might, at the same time,

* As in China and the Indies.

† Besides the great influence which they had in the government, their lands were exempted from taxes.

govern the prince, whom they caused to respect the people; and the people whom they commanded to respect the prince. If Egypt had been an independent power at the moment of the Greek revolution, it would perhaps have escaped the influence of that event; but it was only a province of Persia, and found itself involved in the misfortunes of the empire, to which chance had subjected it.

The ancient kingdom of Sesostris bore, at that time, a striking resemblance to modern Italy. Apparently governed by monarchs, but in reality by a pontiff, who controuled public opinion, it was a composition of magnificence and weakness.* Superb ruins met the eye,† and an enslaved people; the sciences prevailed among a few, and ignorance among all the rest. It was on the borders of the Nile that the philosophers of antiquity gained their knowledge;‡ it was under the beautiful climate of Florence that Europe, when in a state of barbarity, lighted the torch of literature.§ In both countries, they were preserved under the mysterious veil of a learned language, not known

* Egypt was almost always conquered by those who chose to attack it.

† In its highest state of prosperity, it was covered with the ruins of an ancient nation, which flourished before the invasion of the pastors.

‡ Lycurgus and Pythagoras.

§ Under the house of Medicis.

to the commonalty.* It was also the lot of these two countries to be, in their respective ages, the only channels, through which the riches of India found their way to other nations.† With such a conformity of manners and circumstances, Egypt and Italy experienced nearly the same fate, the one at the time of the troubles in Greece, and the other during the French revolution. Dragged, against their inclination, into a disastrous war by the coercive impulse of another power, the first as a province of the great Persian empire, the other as partly subjected to Germany, they were obliged to fight battles for the cause of a foreign people, and exhaust themselves in quarrels, which were not their own.§ Ere long, victorious enemies directed their arms, and still more dangerous intrigues, against them. They roused the ambition of individuals|| and the sacred land of talent was ravaged by barbarians. The Persians, however, succeeded in wresting Egypt‡ from the

* Hieroglyphics and Latin.

† Tyre had some ports in the Arabian Gulph, but soon lost them. Commerce of Florence, Venice, and Leghorn with Egypt, before the discovery of the passage by the Cape of Good Hope.

§ During the Median War, as we shall shortly see.

|| Inarns, who caused Egypt to rise in insurrection against Artaxerxes, King of the Persians. The French, when they wished to invade Italy, sowed the seeds of corruption around them, by fomenting insurrections at Genoa, Rome, Turin, &c.

‡ The Greeks were on this occasion nearly annihilated, and obliged to surrender at discretion. They were too far from their country and could not obtain the necessary supplies.

hands of the Athenians and their allies, but this was not till after six years of calamity. It finally passed under the yoke of these same Greeks at the time of Alexander's conquests, which may themselves be regarded as the distant effect of the republican revolution at Sparta and Athens.

CHAP. XXV.

Carthage.

WE find, on the coast of Africa, the celebrated Carthaginians, who, of all the nations of antiquity, bear the greatest resemblance to the moderns. Aristotle has written a magnificent eulogium on their political institutions. The body of government was composed of two Suffetes, or annual Consuls, a Senate, a Tribunal of a Hundred, which served as a counterpoise to the two former branches of the constitution, a Council of Five, whose powers extended to a sort of general censorship over the whole legislature, and lastly, the assembly of the people, without which there can be no republic.

Carthage adopted, as to morality, the principles of Lacedæmon, banishing the sciences, and even forbidding that children should be taught Greek. In fact, the Carthaginians sheltered themselves entirely under the sophisms of Attica, and it would be useless to retrace the state of knowledge among such a people. I shall, however, frequently allude to a portion of the arts, in which they had made considerable progress.

The Carthaginians were so cruel, in point of religion, that they threw infants into heated ovens, as a sacrifice to their Gods, whether from a belief that the innocence of the victim rendered it more acceptable to the Divinity, or with an idea that they were doing an act of humanity, by sending these guiltless creatures out of the world before they knew its bitterness.

Their military principles also differed from those of the age in general. These African merchants, shut up in their counting-houses, left the care of defending their country to mercenaries, like nations of modern times. They bought the blood of men with the gold which they had gained by the labour of their slaves, and thus turned to their own account and advantage the fury and imbecillity of the human race.

But the inhabitants of the Punic territory distinguished themselves particularly by a commercial enterprize. They had already founded colonies in Spain, Sardinia, and Sicily, as well as along the coast of the African continent, the vast circumference of which they had been bold enough to investigate; besides this, they had ventured into the dangerous seas of the Gauls and the Cassiterides Islands.* In spite of the imperfect state of navigation, avarice, more powerful than human invention, had served them as a compass on the deserts of the ocean.

* Probably the British Islands.

CHAP. XXVI.

Comparison of Carthage and England.

I HAVE often reflected with astonishment on the similarity as to manners and genius, which is manifest between the ancient and modern rulers of the ocean. They resemble each other as well by their political institutions as by their national turns, at once commercial and warlike.* Let us examine them with reference to the first of these.

That their governments were the same is evidently proved from their component principles. Public affairs were conducted at Carthage, as well as in England, by a king† and two houses, the former called the Senate and representing the Communes, the other known by the name of the Council of a Hundred. This power, by sometimes adding its influence to each of the other branches of the legislature, and sometimes with drawing it according to the times, became, like the Peers of Great Britain, a regulator of the balance of the

* Here the resemblance ends. The humanity, and enlightened character of the English cannot be compared with the ignorance and cruelty of the Carthaginians.

† The Greeks sometimes called the person *king*, whom we know under the appellation of *Suffete*. Of these there were two, as before stated, and they were changed every year. Had Carthage been governed by only one preserving his station for life, its constitution would have been, nevertheless, republican, because all depends upon whether there is or is not a general assembly of the people. I am astonished that statesmen have not definitively established this grand axiom, which simplifies politics, and explains a multitude of problems otherwise insoluble.

state. But how happened it that the Punic constitution was republican, and the English monarchical? By one of those marvellous operations in politics, which I shall endeavour to explain.

Suppose a political proposition of which the means are P. S. K. If you invert the order of these letters, you will produce different results, but the terms will remain the same. The government of Carthage was composed of three parts, the people, the senate, and the kings, P. S. K. It was a republic, because the people legislated in a body. To render this constitution monarchical without altering its principles, that is, without rendering it despotic, what was to be done? To change our proposition P. S. K. into that of K. S. P. or, in other words, to transpose the extremes of the proposition; the legislative power then devolving on the kings and senate, at the same time that the people still retain a third part of it. But if the people, when forming only a third part of the legislature, continues to exercise its functions in a body, the proposition is illusory, for where a nation is assembled *en masse*, there exists a republic. In the other case the people are only represented; and such is the constitution of England. Both these governments have proved to be excellent; the first at Carthage in a simple poor community,* the other in England among a great, cultivated, and wealthy people.

* The state was opulent, but the citizen, though rich in money, was poor as to habits and taste.

Now if, after having changed the two extremes of our political proposition, we wish, always preserving the three primitive means, P. S. K. to find the worst combination, what are we to do? Why to admit neither a king nor the people, but to have a sort of indescribable something instead of them; and this is precisely what we have witnessed in France. By leaving out the P. and K. the convention rejected the two principles, without which there is no government. The French were not subjects, because they had no king; nor were they republicans, for the people was represented. What then was their constitution? I am incapable of defining it—a chaos, which had every form without having any; an indigested mass in which all principles were confounded; or rather, it was the medium of our proposition S, multiplied by the two extremes P and K. It was a senate inflated with all the power of the king and the people.

As to the other columns of the Punic legislature, they were simple appendages to the edifice, and served only to obstruct the beauty, without adding to the solidity of the legislature.

The governments of Carthage and England, which have gained equal approbation, have also shared equal censure. Cotemporary nations reproached them with the venality and corruption prevalent among their senators. Polybius * remarks that the Carthagenians, who were

* To be chosen a member of the senate at Carthage, it was

so jealous of their rights, did not consider this custom to be criminal. Perhaps they had found that of all aristocracies, the aristocracy of wealth, if not carried to too great an excess, is in itself the least dangerous ; the rich man having a personal interest in maintaining the laws, while the poor one is ever inclined by nature to overthrow and destroy them.

The same institutions produce the same effects, and the same kind of men ; for being cast in similar moulds, their form must be similar. The senate of Carthage, like the parliament of England, was divided into two parties, which were constantly opposed to each other in principles and opinions. Led by men of the first genius, and by the highest families of the state, these factions were particularly active in time of war and national calamity.* There resulted from it this advantage to the nation, that the rivals, being always on the watch to surprise each other, had a personal interest in loving virtue, because it was personally useful to them, and in hating the vices displayed by others.

necessary that a man should, as in England, possess a certain revenue. Aristotle condemns this law as a very bad one ; but if France had been protected by a similar statute, she would not have endured half so many evils as she has. It is said that in this case, such a man as J. J. Rousseau could not have been returned as a deputy. I grant it ; and I grant that it is a misfortune ; but an infinitely less one than the admission of non-proprietors into a legislative body.

* As during the war of Agathocles, and that of the Mercenaries.

The history of these political dissensions, at the moment of the republican revolution in Greece, will be considered when we speak of a subsequent age. I will, for the present, conclude, by describing the previous state of the African metropolis.

It is at the period of the second Punic war that we find the flame of discord raging on all sides, in the Carthagenian senate. Hanno, who was distinguished by his moderation, as well as his zeal for the public good and love of justice, shone at the head of the party, which, before the declaration of war, opposed pacific measures. He represented the advantages of a durable peace, in preference to the hazards of an enterprize, the success of which was uncertain, though it would assuredly cost the country immense sums, and perhaps end in its ruin.

Hamilcar, surnamed Barcha, the father of Hannibal, and of a family dear to the people, was gifted with great genius, and possessed extensive influence, by which he drew after him the majority of the senate. At his decease, the Barcine faction continued to declare itself in favour of war. Undoubtedly it proved to general conviction the injustice of the Romans, who, without respect for the sanctity of treaties, had seized Sardinia.

While hostilities continued, the minority never ceased to combat the resolutions which were adopted; at one time endeavouring to depreciate the victories of Hannibal, at another to exaggerate his

reverses. It threw a thousand embarrassments in the way of government; and had it not been for the abilities of the Carthaginian general, his army, deprived as it was of supplies, would have been entirely cut off in Italy.* Towards the end of the war, the parties exchanged opinions. Hannibal, as well as the majority, spoke with warmth in favour of peace, after the battle of Zama. One solitary senator, Gisgon, had the courage to oppose it, stating that his fellow citizens would rather perish nobly, with arms in their hands, than submit to disgraceful conditions. The illustrious commander replied that Carthage ought to thank the gods, under such alarming circumstances, for the disposition to negotiate manifested by the Romans. His advice prevailed. Ambassadors, selected from Hanno's party, were dispatched to Italy, who amused their conquerors with a recital of their domestic disputes; and boasted that if their advice had been followed at first, they should not have been obliged to sue for peace at Rome.

The dissensions, by which England began to be agitated towards the end of the reign of James

* When a member of the Barcine faction asked Hanno, after the battle of Cannæ, whether he was still dissatisfied with the war, he answered that his sentiments were unaltered, and that, *supposing these victories to be true*, he only rejoiced in them because they tended towards an advantageous peace. Might we not fancy we heard a member of the Opposition? Is it not astonishing that in Carthage, as well as in England, the success of their own armies was doubted? or rather it is not astonishing.

the First, gave rise to two parties in the parliament of Great Britain, which continue distinct to this hour. The opposition, at first known by the appellation of the country party, soon afterwards dragged the unfortunate Charles the First to the scaffold. During the reign of his successor, the minority took the celebrated title of whigs, and under Lord Shaftesbury, a man devoured by the spirit of faction, was on the point of re-plunging the state into the evils of a new revolution. James the Second caused the whigs to triumph by his imprudence, and William the Third took possession of one of the finest crowns in Europe. Queen Anne, who was for a long time governed by the whigs, returned at last to the tories. The recall of the Duke of Marlborough saved France from almost inevitable ruin. George the First, Elector of Hanover, being supported by all the power of the whigs, who had borne him to the throne, resigned himself to their counsels. It was during the reign of George the Second that the minority began to be known by the party name of the opposition, which it still retains. At that time it obtained several remarkable victories, overthrowing Sir Robert Walpole, a minister who, by his pacific system, was a great favorite of the commercial interest. Soon afterwards it succeeded in placing Lord Chatham at the head of the cabinet—a statesman, who raised the glory of his country to its highest pitch during the war, so unfortunate to France, in 1754. Lord

Bute having succeeded Lord Chatham, soon after his present Majesty came to the throne, the opposition lost their credit. They endeavoured to recover it in the affair of Wilkes, a member of parliament, who was denounced for having written a pamphlet against administration ; and the fatal tax on timber, which calls us to the period of the American as well as the French revolution, soon imparted to them additional vigour. Such is the chain of destiny. No one then suspected that a finance bill, passed in the British parliament during 1765, would raise a new empire on the Earth in 1782, and cause one of the most ancient kingdoms in Europe to disappear from the world in 1789.*

* An incendiary spark, lighted up during the reign of Charles the First, fell in America, when the Puritans emigrated thither in 1637, spread itself in 1765, and repassed the ocean to ravage Europe in 1789. There is something incomprehensible in this generation of evils.

When reflecting on the present American republic, we cannot refrain from casting back our eyes to its origin. The Puritans arrived at Cape Cod, where almost all of them perished by famine and distress. Soon afterwards, their mortal enemies the Catholics disembarked on the same shores. A cargo of grave fools, with great hats and no buttons to their clothes, then made a descent on the borders of the Delaware. What must an Indian have thought when he saw the strange actors of this tragi-comic farce arriving in their turns—when he saw men burn their brethren in New England, for the love of God ; another race in Pennsylvania professing to let their throats be cut without resistance ; a third in Maryland, accompanied by parti-coloured priests, covered with crosses, armed with conjuring books, and professing universal toleration ; a fourth in Virginia with black slaves and learned persecutors in long robes ? Could this Indian

The opposition thought that they had gained a signal advantage over the ministry, when they

possibly imagine that all these people came from the same country? All of them, nevertheless, belonged to one nation—all of them came from the little island of Britain. When one thinks of the variety and complication of maladies, which ferment in a body politic, one can scarcely comprehend its existence.

On the faith of books and the reports of interested persons, we were, on this side of the Atlantic, enthusiasts at the very mention of the Americans. Our journals spoke only of the Romans at Boston and the tyrants at London. For my own part, I was fired by the same ardour, and on arriving at Philadelphia, full of my Reynal, I intreated as a favor to be shewn one of the famous Quakers, the virtuous descendants of William Penn. What was my surprise on being told that if I wished to be duped, I had only to walk into the shop of a *friend*; and that if I had any curiosity to know how far the spirit of interest and mercantile immorality would extend, I might easily see two Quakers, the one trying to buy some article of the other, and each trying to impose on his *friend*! I found that this boasted society is, in general, nothing but a company of greedy merchants, without warmth of feeling and without sensibility, who had acquired a reputation for honesty, because they wore clothes unlike those of other people, never returned any answer but yes or no, and had never two prices; which last circumstance is easily accounted for by a monopoly of certain articles, so that you are obliged to buy them of these people at what price they please. In a word, I found that they were frigid actors, who were incessantly playing the farce of probity, calculated at an immense interest, and among whom virtue was made a sort of stock-jobbing concern.

Thus were my chimerical ideas daily dissipated, one after the other, and this caused me great uneasiness. When I afterwards became more acquainted with the Americans, I have more than once said to some of them, in whose presence I could freely speak my mind: "I like your country and your government, but I don't like *you* at all," and they understood me.

obtained the repeal of this famous tax ; and yet it is certain that this very repeal was more instrumental than the tax itself in causing the revolution of the colonies.*

Three ministers rapidly succeeded each other, after this first irruption of the American volcano. At length the reins of government were placed in the hands of Lord North, who, like his predecessors, had adopted the system of ultramarine taxes. The insurrection of the Bostonians, respecting the transmittal of tea by the East India Company, was no sooner known in England than the members of opposition redoubled their zeal and activity. Lord Chatham now appeared in the House of Peers, and spoke with warmth against the measures of the cabinet ; but his motion was rejected by a majority of fifty-eight voices, and coercive measures were adopted to their utmost extent.

Soon afterwards blood was shed in America. I have seen the plains of Lexington. I stopped in silence, like the traveller at Thermopylæ, to contemplate the spot, on which those warriors of the two worlds died, who were the first to obey the laws of their country. In treading this philo-

* The Lords, who protested against this repeal, may boast of having predicted the consequences. " Because the appearance of weakness and timidity in the government has a manifest tendency to draw on further insults ; and by lessening the respect of all his Majesty's subjects for the dignity of the crown, to throw the whole British nation into a miserable state of confusion," &c.

sophic ground, which with silent eloquence declared to me how empires rise and fall, I confessed my insignificance, bowed in adoration of the wonderful ways of Providence, and hid my face in the dust.

What a great example have we had of the misfortunes, which sooner or later follow an action in itself immoral, however brilliant the pretexts may be, with which we endeavour to dazzle our eyes, and lead ourselves into fallacious policy! France, seduced by a philosophical jargon, by the interest which she expected to deduce from it, and by the narrow passion of humbling her ancient rival, without any provocation on the part of England, violated, in the name of the human race, the sacred rights of nations. She first furnished the Americans with arms against their legitimate sovereign, and then openly declared in their favor.

It is a painful and afflicting task for a Frenchman to read the history of America at this period. I have often been obliged to shut the volume, oppressed by the most heart-rending comparisons, as well as by profound and mute astonishment at contemplating the chain of human events. Every syllable of Ramsay is bitterly re-echoed in the heart, when an honest citizen boasts, against his own conviction, of the duplicity practised by France towards England; but when his heart glows with recollection of the virtues which distinguished Louis XVI. he pours forth benedictions on that monarch's head. If he proceeds, and

reaches the passage, which describes M. de la Fayette as receiving the first news of the treaty of alliance, and throwing himself, with tears of joy, into the arms of Washington; while, at the same instant, the tidings fly through the army, amidst transports, and shouts of *long life to the King of France*, involuntarily uttered by thousands—the volume falls from his hand, while he feels as if a poinard pierced his heart. Americans, your idol La Fayette was a villain, and the Frenchmen, once the objects of your eulogium, who shed their blood in your battles, are wretches whom you now despise, and to whom you would perhaps refuse an asylum. The august father of your liberty too—did not one of you pass sentence on him?—Have you not sworn friendship for, and entered into alliance with his assassins?

During all the remainder of the war, the opposition never ceased to harass ministers, and to become more and more powerful in proportion to the national calamities. It was then that Mr. Burke launched his eloquence, like a thunderbolt, on the heads of the ministers. This great orator, who possessed one of the rarest capacities with which man was ever dignified, surpassed even himself at this juncture. He traced the troubles of the Colonies to their origin, energetically described their progress, and with that inspiration of genius, which so often enabled him to predict future events,

* An American seated as a judge when Louis XVI. was tried for his life!—Oh man!—Oh Providence!

pleaded the cause of American liberty, in the sublime and pathetic language of Demosthenes.

On the 27th of March, 1782, the opposition gained a complete victory. The cabinet was changed, and the Marquis of Rockingham placed at the head of affairs.

Peace being re-established among the belligerent powers, the members of opposition joined the party of the disgraced administration. Mr. Fox and Lord North formed this coalition, which drew after it the majority of parliament. Lord Shelburne, who had succeeded the Marquis of Rockingham, when the latter died on the 1st of July, 1782, was obliged to retire; and Mr. Fox, Lord North, and the Duke of Portland seized the helm of the State.

Mr. Fox remained in administration but a very short time. His famous East India Bill having been thrown out by the House of Lords, he soon afterwards resigned the seals of office,* and Mr. Pitt took the Duke of Portland's place as First Lord of the Treasury.

The principal measures of government, after Mr. Pitt's accession to power, were First, this minister's East India Bill on the 5th of July, 1784; Secondly, his motion on the 18th of April 1785 in favour of a parliamentary reform, which was negatived by a majority of seventy-two members; Thirdly, the plan for the liquidation of the national debt by the establishment of a Sinking Fund in 1786.† and Fourthly,

* On the 19th of Dec. 1783.

† A million per annum.

the act on the treatment of negroes, and the amelioration of the condition of these slaves, on the 28th of May, 1788. The nation was at the height of prosperity, and Mr. Pitt, who had not yet reached his thirtieth year, had shewn what a single man could do for the prosperity of a State.

The King's illness, which took place soon afterwards, deprived the opposition of the public favour and covered the minister with glory. His Majesty, on being restored to the wishes of his people, who testified by signs of joy (the more affecting because they emanated from the heart) to what an extent he was adored, soon resumed the reigns of government.

At the close of this brief account of the opposition, we will place the portraits of two celebrated men, so long the objects to whom Europe turned her eyes, and who had so great an influence on the French Revolution.

As we have seen, at the head of the majority and minority in the Carthaginian Senate, men who were endowed with the most splendid talents of their age; in like manner, through differing as to manners, opinions, and eloquence, shone the two great orators of the English Parliament, whose portraiture I will, though feebly, attempt to sketch.

Mr. Fox, whose genius and sensibility were most acute, listened to the dictates of his heart while he spoke, and thus made himself distinctly understood by sympathetic hearts. Deeply versed in the knowledge of his country's laws, moderate

in his political opinions, knowing the frailty of human nature, and claiming for others the same indulgence which he might need for himself, he was seldom found in extremes. If he sometimes allowed himself to be led into them, it was only from that fervour of the times, against which it is almost impossible for a man to defend himself. But when he elevated his impressive voice in behalf of the unfortunate, he reigned—he triumphed. Ever on the side of the suffering, his eloquence acquired additional force from his gratuitous exertions in behalf of the unfortunate—he crept to the heart—he penetrated to the very soul. A sensible alteration in the tone of the orator discovered all the man. It was in vain that the stranger in the gallery tried to resist the impression made upon him—he turned aside and wept. Mr. Fox was hated by one party, and idolized by the other; the former reproached him with his errors, the latter extolled him for his virtues. Now that the clashing opinions and fatigues of this celebrated man's active life have ceased, the moment for doing justice is arrived; and whatever may be the decision of posterity, the unfortunate of future times, who in every age form a majority, will say: "He loved our brethren of his own age—he spoke in their behalf."

When Mr. Pitt took the word in the House of Commons, the auditor called to mind the comparison, which Homer makes between the eloquence of Ulysses, and flakes of snow silently descending from Heaven. Excited and heated by the repre-

sentations of his antagonist in opposition, the assembly, full of agitation, floated in uncertainty and doubt, but when the Chancellor of the Exchequer rose, and his logic, which flowed with elegant abundance, checked their useless warmth, always dangerous to legislators, every one was astonished, and felt his passions sink into repose. Prejudice fled, and truth alone remained.

Placed at the head of a great nation, Mr. Pitt had for enemies the men who envied his high rank, and those who combated his opinions. The ground, upon which they declaimed against the British minister, was the disastrous war, in which Europe was then engaged. Contracted minds saw, in this struggle, nothing but "battles lost and won," and not the genius of France in the convulsions of a crisis, led away by the force of events, tearing, like the Hercules of *Æta*, those who dared to approach him, scattering the bleeding members of the French over the fatal plains of Italy and Flanders, and urging them madly to turn their arms against themselves. No one now cared about the obscure or culpable cabals of a few intriguing cabinets. Nations rushed with irresistible impetuosity against each other, and left the result of the shock to the will of fate. War without, factions within, misunderstanding on every side, enemies whose opinions were not less destructive than their arms, nations corrupted, courts sunk into vice, exhausted finances, and vacillating governments! Such were the objects

that met the eye of contemplation; and I must, for my own part, avow that I was astonished to see Mr. Pitt bear alone, like Atlas, the weight of a world in ruins.

It only remains for us to consider Carthage and England with reference to their martial and commercial spirit. I have already touched on this interesting subject. Let me add that, by a singular sport of fortune, the rivals of Rome and France could only boast of having each possessed one great General; the former, Hannibal, the latter Marlborough.* To draw a comparison between these illustrious men would lead us too far from our subject. Suffice it to remark that they were both employed against the ancient enemy of their country, equally reduced him to the last extremity,† and were equally on the point of entering the capital of his empire in triumph. Both were accused

* There were doubtless other great generals at Carthage, and in England, but none so celebrated as Hannibal and Marlborough.

† In the present age it is impartially allowed that Marlborough was not entitled to such enthusiastic admiration as our fore-fathers bestowed on him. To form a just estimate of his talents he should be compared with Condé and Turenne. He was always opposed to bad Generals, and almost always acted in conjunction with Prince Eugene. The only time that he fought against a great commander, (I believe at Malplaquet) he lost twenty-two thousand men, though Villars had only under him recruits who had never fought before, and were destitute of every thing, even bread. At the taking of Lisle, Vendome was subordinate to the Duke of Burgundy. Hannibal fought against the Fabii, the Scipios, &c.

of the same failing, avarice; and finally, both, on returning to their own country, experienced ingratitude.

As to commerce, having already described its extent, I shall merely cite a fact little known. Carthage is the only maritime power of antiquity which, like England, devised prohibitory laws for her colonies. The inhabitants were obliged to buy, at the markets of the mother country, the different articles which they wanted, and were not allowed to employ themselves in the culture of particular commodities. This feature will enable us to judge how far the true nature of commerce, and the calculations of public revenue had arrived among this African people; while it will perhaps point out the cause of the disturbances, by which the Punic colonies were incessantly agitated.

When two governments devote their attention to similar objects, suggested by similar motives, we may conclude that these governments are animated by a considerable portion of the same spirit; hence we see that those of Carthage and England were often excited, by similar principles, to enterprises connected with their national prosperity. We will investigate the two voyages, undertaken for the purpose of extending commerce in the old and new worlds. The first was made by order of the Carthaginian Senate, at a period which is not exactly known;* the second was ex-

* It is now acknowledged that this voyage could not have been undertaken by the Hanno, to whom it was attributed, and

ecuted in our own days by the munificence of the King of Great Britain. Hanno, who commanded the Carthaginian expedition, was to enter the ocean by the Straits of Gades or Gadier,* to discover unknown countries by proceeding along the coast of Africa, and to found colonies here and there. When we reflect that the use of the compass was then unknown, that the guides in the heavens were but imperfectly understood, and that the frail bark was often guided by oars; when we reflect that the mariner was obliged to face the storms of the Cape of Good Hope, so long the formidable barrier to modern navigators, we cannot but be astonished at the hardy spirit, which urged the Carthaginians to attempt these perilous enterprises. The design failed in part; but Hanno, on returning to his country, published an account of his travels; and his journal, having been afterwards translated into Greek, was thus preserved. The brevity and interest, which distinguished this only monument of Punic literature, saved from the ravages of time,† induce me to give it entirely.

who must have lived about the time of the African expedition under Agathocles. Some make the author of this journal a contemporary of Hannibal; others date it about the time of the Grecian revolution, which I have described. It is of little importance to the reader.

* Cadiz. Now the Straits of Gibraltar.

† We have a Punic scene in Plautus, and fragments of an agricultural work translated into Latin, which teaches us the secret of fattening rats.

Travels by sea and land beyond the Pillars of Hercules, by Hanno, King of the Carthaginians; who, at his return, consecrated the following narrative in the temple of Saturn.

The people of Carthage having ordered me to undertake a voyage beyond the pillars of Hercules, for the purpose of there founding colonies, I put to sea with a fleet of sixty vessels, each worked by fifty oars, having on board a great quantity of provisions and clothing, as well as about thirty thousand persons, male and female.

Two days after we had set sail, we passed the Straits of Gades, and on the following day, established a colony at a place, where an extensive plain lay before us, which we called Thymiaterium. Then sailing to the west, we made Cape Soloentum, on the coast of Lybia, a promontory covered with trees, where we erected a temple to Neptune.

Directing our course to the east, we arrived, after the navigation of half a day, at the top of a lake full of reeds,* not far distant from the sea, where we saw elephants and several other wild animals feeding here and there. At one day's navigation from this lake we founded several maritime towns, Cytte, Acra, Melissa, &c.

During our moments of relaxation we advanced as far as the great river Lixa, which flows out of Lybia not far from the Nomades. We there found the Lixians, who employ themselves in rearing cattle. I remained some time among them, and concluded a treaty of alliance with them. The Lixians informed us that the mountains are frequented by the Troglodytes, men of a strange form, and swifter than horses in the course. I afterwards made two excursions, with interpreters, in the deserts towards the south.

At my return I ordered my people to weigh anchor,† and we

* A difficulty here occurs in the Greek. At first, one would imagine that Hanno went up a river, but afterwards we find him founding maritime towns. I have followed the sense which appeared to me most probable.

† This is not the phrase in the text, but it is implied.

steered for twenty-four hours towards the east. At the extremity of a bay we found a little island about five stadia in circumference, to which we gave the name of Cernes, and left some inhabitants there. I examined my journal, and found that Cernes must be situated on the coast opposite to Carthage; the distance of this island from the pillars of Hercules, being the same as that of the pillars from Carthage.

We resumed our proceedings, and after having traversed a river, called Chreles, entered a lake, which contained three islands more considerable than Cernes. It took us a day to work from these islands to the extremity of the lake. It was surrounded by mountains. We met with men clothed in skins, who inhabited the woods, and who assailed us with stones. Passing along the banks of this lake, we touched on another large river, covered with crocodiles and sea horses. From this point we returned, and gained the island of Cernes.

Having again departed, and doubled the Cape to the south, we ranged, for twelve days, along a coast inhabited by the Ethiopians, who appeared to be extremely alarmed, and spoke in a language unknown even to our interpreters.

On the twelfth day we discovered lofty mountains, covered with forests, several species of trees in which exhaled a perfume. After having passed these mountains by the navigation of two days, we entered an immense sea. In the district adjoining to the continent there was a sort of plain, on which we saw fires during the night, some small and others larger. Having supplied ourselves with water, we sailed along the shore for four days, and on the fifth launched into a great gulph; which our interpreters called *Hesperum Ceras* (the horn of evening). We found ourselves now at an island of considerable extent. A salt lake, in which was an islet, occupied the interior of this great island. We walked across the land, and perceived nothing except a forest; but during the night we observed fires, and heard the sound of fifes and tymbals, and with the clamours of an innumerable multitude.

Being seized with alarm, and having received from our soothsayers orders to abandon this island, we set sail immediately, and coasted along the burning land of Thimimatum, from which fiery

torrents were discharged into the sea. The soil was so hot that the foot could not rest upon it. We cleared the Cape completely, and in four days reached at night a country covered with flames, from the midst of which a cone of fire reared its head to the clouds. At day-break we ascertained that this was a high mountain called Theon Ochema.

Having doubled the fiery regions, we, three days afterwards, entered the gulph Notu Ceras (the horn of the east) at the extremity of which lay an island* with a lake and islet similar to those we had before discovered. Having touched at this island, we found it inhabited by savages. The number of women infinitely exceeded that of the men. They were quite covered with hair, and our interpreters called them Gorilles. We pursued them, but without being able to overtake them. They fled over the precipices with astonishing agility, throwing stones at us. We succeeded, however, in taking three women, but were obliged to kill them, that we might not be lacerated by them. We have preserved their skins. Our provisions were now wasting away, and we steered back to Carthage.

Cook is no more. This great navigator perished at the Sandwich Islands, which he had discovered, and his voyages are known to all the world.

Nothing better shews the spirit and knowledge of the age, and the general character of the ancients, but especially that of the Carthaginians, than the journal of the Suffete Hanno. An ignorance of nature and of geography, superstition and credulity are discoverable in every line. The barbarity of the Punic mariners must also strike every reader. The hairy women, of whom he speaks, were probably some species of ape, but it was sufficient that the African commander believed

* This island, forming the extent of Hanno's investigation, is thought to be St. Ann's.

them to be human, to render his conduct atrocious. What a difference, when this gross mixture of cruelty and fable is compared with the conduct of the worthy Cook, who sought unknown lands not to deceive, but to enlighten mankind; carrying to poor savages the necessities of life; swearing to preserve tranquillity, and dispensing happiness among these children of nature upon their charming shores; sowing in icy regions the fruits of a milder climate, mindful of the wretch whom the tempest might cast upon these desolate coasts; and thus, by order of his sovereign, imitating that Providence, which foresees and alleviates the sufferings of mankind.* Behold this illustrious navigator closed in by the shores of our globe on every side, no longer able to find another sea for

* If philosophy has ever presented a grand subject for contemplation, it is surely when she exhibits to us the English sowing nutritious grain in the uninhabited islands of the South Sea. It is pleasing to fancy these colonies of European vegetables, with their strange appearance and polished manners, contrasted with the native savage plants around them. It is amusing to depict them creeping along the coast, climbing the hills, or spreading through the woods, according to the habits and inclinations brought from their native soil; like exiled families choosing, in the desert, the situations which most remind them of their home. Should an unfortunate Frenchman, Englishman, or Spaniard escape death alone on a coast peopled with these herbs, the fellow citizens of his village—should he, when almost famished, suddenly find, in the midst of the desert, and 4000 leagues from Europe, the familiar grain of his native fields, the companion of his infancy, which appears to rejoice at his arrival; must not this poor sailor think that a God has descended from Heaven?

his vessels, and consequently ascertaining the extent of our planet, like the God who moulded it in his hand !

It must, nevertheless, be allowed that we lose in sentiment what we gain in science. The souls of the ancients liked to plunge into the infinite void ; ours are circumscribed by their knowledge. What man of sensibility has not often found himself confined in the petty circumference of a few millions of leagues ? When I have climbed a mountain in the interior of Canada, my eyes were always turned to the west over the unfrequented deserts, which stretch that way. Towards the east, my imagination immediately found the Atlantic, and countries which I had traversed, so that I lost my pleasure ; but even in the opposite direction the effect was almost the same. I incessantly arrived at the South-Sea—thence in Asia—thence in Europe—thence—I wished to have said, like the Greeks : “ There, below me, is the unknown land, the immense land ! ” Every thing in nature balances itself. If I were allowed to choose whether I would possess the knowledge of Cook or the ignorance of Hanno, I believe that I should be weak enough to decide in favour of the latter,

CHAP. XXVII.

Influence of the Greek Revolution on Carthage.

CARTHAGE, at the moment that republics were founded in Greece, was in the same situation, with

reference to them, that England was with reference to France. Possessing nearly the same constitution, the same wealth, the same martial and commercial spirit as Great Britain; separated like her, by seas, from the country in a state of revolution; as free, or more so than this country itself, she was guaranteed from the military influence of Athens and Sparta by the superiority of her vessels, and from the dangers of their political opinions by the excellence of her own government. Maritime nations have the inestimable advantage of being less exposed than others to the effects of foreign commotions. Besides the natural barrier, which protects them against an invading force, if they are insular, or placed in some remote part of a continent, the superfluity of their population incessantly finds an outlet without remaining in a state of dead stagnation at home. The rest of the citizens, being occupied by commercial pursuits, have little time to embarrass themselves with political reveries. Where the arm is at work, the mind is in repose.

Carthage, when the fall of the Pisistratides took place, was elevated to the empire of the seas, and had engrossed the commerce of the whole world, by building it in part upon the ruin of the commerce of Tyre,* like England, in our days, upon that of Holland. Another resemblance, not less singular, exists between them. Carthage thought

* This will be explained in the article relative to Tyre.

it right to take an active part against the republican revolution of Athens, in favour of monarchy. Xerxes, who, in attempting to re-establish Hippias on the throne, meditated the conquest of Attica and Peloponnesus, induced the Carthaginians to attack the Greek colonies in Sicily at the same time. Hamilcar, at the head of more than thirty thousand men, and a numerous fleet, disembarked at Panormum, and laid siege to the town of Himera. Gelon hastened from Syracuse with fifty thousand citizens to relieve the place, fell on the African general, destroyed his army, and compelled him to throw himself upon a pile lighted for sacrifice. It is thus that hostile fortune resolved to act similarly at Himera and Dunkirk.

Enthusiasm in victory and discouragement in defeat form a *trait* of character which the sovereigns of the seas in ancient times have possessed, in common with the rulers of the ocean in our days. How many times, during the course of hostilities, would England have thrown herself at the feet of her rival, but for the manly firmness of her ministers!

No sooner did the account of the destruction of the army reach Africa, than the people fell into despair. They wished for peace at whatever price it could be obtained. An humble deputation was sent to Gelon, who deserved his victory by the moderation which he displayed towards his enemies. He only required that the Carthaginians

should defray the expenses of the campaign, which amounted to two thousand talents.

Thus terminated, as far as they were concerned, a war so fatal to all the allies, and one that is further remarkable for having gradually ceased, in the same manner as the revolutionary war, by one nation after another making a forced or partial peace.* After the treaty between Africa and Greece, the two countries lived long in good understanding with each other, and the influence of the republican revolution, on the part of the latter, being stopped by the causes above assigned, was confined, as far as regarded Carthage, to the passing misfortune which I have recorded.

CHAP. XXVIII,

Iberia.

ON the opposite side of the straits of Gades, which separated the African possessions of Carthage from her European colonies, was Iberia, a wild country, and scarcely known to the ancients at the period of which we are tracing the history. It was inhabited by several nations of Celtic origin, some of whom distinguished themselves by their courage and contempt of death; others were an inoffensive race, who passed for the most up-

* This will be seen in the general table of the Median war.

right people upon earth.* Unfortunately, their rivers contained a metal which exposed them to avarice. The Tyrians, to obtain it, first imposed on their simplicity. The Carthaginians soon subjected them, and forcing them to open the mines, plunged them alive into the bowels of the earth. If this book should ever cross the ocean and reach the Indian buried in the mountains of Potosi, he may learn from it that his cruel task-masters formerly perished, like himself, under their native soil, having been compelled to work in similar gold mines for a foreign power brought among them by the waves. This Indian would secretly adore Providence, and think his mattock lighter.

It is probable that the disturbances in Greece were felt by the unfortunate inhabitants of Iberia. Carthage, in order to defray the expenses of the war against Sicily, doubtless multiplied the hardships of its slaves. † For every crown spent in vice in Europe, tears of blood have flowed in the mines of America. Such is the universal connection of sublunary events, that a revolution is felt, like an electric shock, at the same moment by the whole chain of nations.

* The Bœotia, of which Fenelon gives so affecting a description. His picture is not entirely painted from fancy, but founded on authentic history.

† Iberia also furnished soldiers, as well as Gaul and Italy, for the Carthaginian expedition against Syracuse.

CHAP. XXIX.

The Celtes.

BEYOND the Pyrenees dwelt a numerous people, known by the name of the Celtes, whose power extended to Britain, Gaul, and Germany. United as they were in manners and language, it was only necessary that they should be united in government, to enslave the rest of the world.

The accounts of barbarous nations afford, I know not what, of the romantic which attracts us. We delight in retracing the different customs of our fellow creatures, especially when ages have impressed them with the grandeur appertaining to the antique; like those pillars which appear more beautiful when the moss of time is attached to them. Full of religious horror, we like to join the Gaul with his curled head and muscular arm, his short tunic and leathern belt, in a wood of ancient oaks, and celebrate with him, on some huge stone, the mysterious rites of Theutates. The girl with wild mien and blue eyes is near; her feet are bare, her person clothed in a long robe; a canvass mantle is suspended from her shoulders; her head is covered with a kerchief, which is brought across her bosom, and the extremities of it, passing under the arms, float behind her. The Druid, at the cromlech, is stationed in the middle, wearing his white surplice, holding in his hand the golden knife, having a golden chain round his neck and bracelets of the same metal on his arms. He ut-

ters magic words, and burns some leaves of the sacred misletoe, gathered on the sixth day of the month, while the victim is prepared in the wicker hurdle by the Aubages; and the bards, softly touching their harps, sing, at a distance and in a subdued tone, to the praises of Odin, Thor, Tuisco, and Hella.

The great body of the Celtes was divided into a multitude of small states, governed by *Yarles*, or military chiefs. The political and civil power was vested in the Druids.

This celebrated order seems to have almost existed from the earliest period; and some authors have made it the source from which the sacerdotal sects of the East were derived. It was divided into three branches,—the Druids, who were the depositories of wisdom and authority—the Bards, who remunerated the exploits of heroes—and the Aubages, who attended to the regulation of sacrifices. These priests inculcated the immortality of the soul, the reward of virtue, the punishment of vice, and a limit to nature fixed for the general good.

This is not a proper place to descant on the manners, knowledge, and customs of these barbarous nations; they will elsewhere form an interesting chapter. At present, a description would be, in fact, an anachronism; what we know of them being subsequent to the reign of Xerxes. We should merely shew that the revolutions of Greece

extended their influence even to these uncultivated nations.

A Phocian colony, feeling the full value of liberty, which it could no longer enjoy upon the shores of Asia, sought independence in a more propitious climate, and in the 165th year of Rome founded in Gaul the ancient Marseilles. The knowledge and language of these strangers soon found their way among the Druids.* It would be impossible to trace, through the obscurity of history, the consequences of these innovations, but they must have been considerable. We know that the least alteration in the habits of a people is often in itself sufficient to change its nature.

Without having recourse to conjecture, the establishment of the Phocians in Gaul was one of the secondary causes which effected the subjugation of the latter. The Marseillois being faithful allies of the Romans, opened a gate for the armies of Cæsar, and secured to him a retreat in case of disaster. Their knowledge of the country, their courage, and the enlightened state of their minds, were all disadvantageous to the Gauls.†

* The Gauls were instructed in letters by the Marseillois. During the time of Julius Cæsar, the former used the Greek character in their writings.

† As in the passage of Hannibal to Gaul. The attachment of the republic of Marseilles to the Romans, and the different services which it rendered to them, are too well known to require further detail.

It is thus that men are ordained the one for the other. The threads of their destiny are in the hand of God, and not one of them can be drawn without the rest being moved. I will close this article by a single remark.

The Marseillois, who differ in origin from the other people of France, have also a peculiar character. They seem to have preserved the factious propensity of their founders, as well as their hasty ephemeral courage, and enthusiastic love of liberty. The power of blood is denied; but it is certain that races of men are perpetuated like breeds of animals. It was for this reason that the ancient legislators wished none but robust and hardy children to be reared, upon the same principle that high mettled foals are always preferred.

CHAP. XXX.

Italy.

ITALY, at the period of the republican revolution in Greece, was divided, as at present, into several small states, nearly alike in manners and language. We will consider them together, that we may avoid useless details.

The monarchial constitution was generally prevalent; the religion was similar to that of the Greeks, and the art of augury was added to it. Their habits were not altogether devoid of luxury

and corruption,* for both had been introduced among them from the cities of Magna Græcia.

These nations, however, possessed their philosophers. Tages, the most ancient of them, was an impostor or a madman, who invented the science of presages. Another author, whose name is unknown, wrote on the system of nature. He said that the visible world occupied sixty centuries in its creation, before it was inhabited, and that it will endure sixty more before it is dissolved; fixing the complete duration of its existence at twelve thousand years.†

In politics Romulus and Numa had been conspicuous. Plutarch compared the former to Theseus, and the latter to Lycurgus. The first comparison is as happy as the last is intolerable. What have the theocratic laws of the king of Rome in common with the sublime institutions of the Spartan legislator?§. Several philosophers have enthusiastically admired Numa from the mere idea that he studied under Pythagoras; but chronology has proved that an interval of more than a century occurred between the existence of these

* During the most virtuous age of Rome, the son of the great Cincinnatus was accused of frequenting the quarter in which the courtesans resided. The luxury of the last Tarquin is well known.

† This system nearly agrees with that of Buffon as to the length of periods mentioned.

§ As a proof that these laws were bad, they were annulled a hundred years afterwards, and the senate ordered the books to be burnt, which were found in Numa's tomb.

two sages. What then constitutes the merit of Numa? There are many men whom we should cease to esteem, if we could thus remove the veil of error from the accounts of them.

CHAP. XXXI.

Influence of the Greek Revolution on Rome.

AT the period of the establishment of republics in Greece, a great revolution was likewise effected in Italy. The year, in which the tyrant of Attica was banished, likewise witnessed the fall of the Latian one.

The reaction of the dethronement at Athens was sensibly felt at Rome. Brutus had been sent by Tarquin to the oracle of Delphos, at the time that Hippias ceased to reign.* I can easily imagine that the patriot's heart beat with increased energy, when, after leaving his enslaved country, he set foot in this land of independence. The sight of a nation in a state of ferment, and ready to burst its bonds asunder, must have warmed the blood of the magnanimous stranger. Perhaps when some priest of the temple recorded the death

* Livy, who records this, does not explain the time at which it occurred; but he says that Brutus, at his return, found the Romans preparing for the siege of Ardea. Tarquin was expelled from Rome during the first months of this enterprise, and as Hippias quitted Attica in the same year that Lucretia died, it follows that Brutus repaired to Delphos between the assassination of Hipparchus, and the abdication of Hippias, that is to say, between the 66th and 67th Olympiad.

of Harmodius, the reddening countenance of Brutus prophetically displayed all the future glory of Rome. He returned to the banks of the Tiber, not merely inspired by the impulse which agitated a feeble Pythian, but full of that god who gives liberty to empires, and reveals himself only to great men.

Rome had afterwards recourse to Greece, and the Athenians became the legislators of the first people in the world. This belongs to the remote influence of the revolution, which I shall mention elsewhere.

The venbose politics of Attica, however, which made their way into Italy through the channel of Magna Græcia, found an insurmountable barrier to their progress in the happy ignorance of the interior nations. The citizen, accustomed to exercise himself in the Field of Mars, to obey the laws and fear the gods, never went into the schools of demagogues, to hear them vociferate about the rights of man, and the means of overturning their country. The magistrates took care that the youth should not be corrupted by useless knowledge. Rome opposed to Greece republic for republic, and liberty for liberty, defending itself from foreign virtues by its own.

Let no one start at this. I have not said *virtue* but *virtues*, which are terms totally distinct though incessantly confounded. The former is immutable, at all times and under all circumstances. The latter are local and conventional—vices at one

place and virtues in another. “The distinction is not a good one,” the reader may reply; “for in that case you make virtue an innate sentiment, whereas infants appear to have none.” But why demand of the heart its sublimest functions, while the marvellous work is still in the hands of the artificer?

It must not be contended that it is useless to dwell on the slight influence, which the establishment of popular governments among the Greeks might have on Rome, from the latter being already a republic; so that other republics could have no effect upon her. Has not France destroyed Geneva, Holland, Genoa, and Venice? Has she not shaken Switzerland, and was she not even on the point of overthrowing the American government?

CHAP. XXXII.

Magna Græcia.

THE Athenians, the Achæians, and the Lacedæmonians, had at different periods founded several colonies on the coast of Italy, and the country occupied by these is called *Great Greece*. Among these cities, Sybaris, Croton and Tarentum soon became celebrated for their political dissensions, corrupt morals, and extent of knowledge. Like the people, from whom they derived their origin, the inhabitants cherished the liberty which they knew not how to retain. By turns

they were republics, and subjected to tyrants; thus passing, by a continual circle of revolutions, from the most unbridled licentiousness to the most ignominious slavery.

About the time that the Pisistratides ceased to reign in Athens, Pythagoras of Samos, after having travelled extensively, fixed himself at Croton. This philosopher, who was one of the most enlightened men of his age, and the founder of the sect which bears his name, had gained his knowledge among the priests of Egypt, Persia, and the Indies. His notions of the Divinity were sublime; he regarded God as an unity, from which the substance employed by him for the creation, was derived. By his action on this substance, the universe was produced. Hence it resulted, that as every thing emanated from God, every thing necessarily formed a part of God—a doctrine which bordered on the absurdities of Spinosism, with the difference, that Pythagoras admitted the principle as spiritual, Spinoza as material.

The doctrine of the transmigration of souls, which the sage of Samos borrowed from the Bramins and Gymnosophists of the East,* is too well known for me to dwell on it. Absurd as it appears to us, because it is impossible to conceive how memory, which is only an impression formed

* It is nevertheless uncertain whether Pythagoras travelled through Persia and the Indies, this opinion having only been maintained by writers in an age long after that of the Samian philosopher. Jamblichus abounds in fable.

by the senses, can appertain to the spiritual part of man when disengaged from those senses, still this system, like a thousand others, should not be entirely despised. The real Metempsychosis of bodies favours it, and it affords, at the same time, a solution of the difficulties concerning another life; the universe being only a great eternal whole, in which nothing is annihilated or created. Thus the doctrine of Pythagoras formed a circle, necessarily returning to the point at which it begun; for from the principles of transmigration, the mind formed the primitive idea, which this philosopher had of the *τοῦ οὐ*, or that which is.

Had Pythagoras contented himself with sounding the abysses of the tomb, he would have had but a slender claim to the gratitude of mankind; but he occupied himself with other studies more useful to society. His system of nature was that of the *Harmonies*,* developed in our days by Bernardin de Saint Pierre, who has clothed the purest morality in the most delightful dress†.

The sage of Samos, like the friend of J. J. Rousseau, represented the universe as a great body, perfect in its symmetry, and moved in con-

* Pythagoras said that virtue, health, God himself, and all the universe, were Harmonies.

† The mathematic genius of St. Pierre bears, in other respects, a resemblance to that of Pythagoras. The theory of tides, by the melting of the polar ice, is an opinion which deserves the greatest attention on the part of the learned, and all who admire the philosophy of nature.

formity to laws which were musical and eternal. The harmonic numbers, of which the most perfect was four according to Pythagoras, and five according to Saint Pierre, formed a mysterious arithmetic, from which the secrets and beauties of nature proceeded. The etherial regions were full of the melody of moving spheres, and the gracious gods sometimes deigned to communicate with mortals in their dreams.*

The sage of Magna Græcia wished to combine with the reputation of a natural philosopher, the more dangerous one of a legislator. His policy, like that of Bernardin, was mild and religious. He did not so much recommend any particular form of government as simplicity of heart; being certain, that a good constitution always emanates from purity of morals. With a venerable beard which descended to his waist, a crown of gold on his grey head, and a long robe of Egyptian linen, the aged Pythagoras inculcating, to the sound of instruments, the most amiable morality, presents a very different picture to our view than that of the legislators in our own times. The success of the sage was at first prodigious. A general revolution took place in Croton; but the citizens, whose conduct he censured, were soon weary of reform, and accused him of conspiring against the state, instead of their vices. They burnt his disciples alive in their college, and obliged him to fly into

* What Pythagoras said of man is sublime—that he is a microcosm, or abstract of the universe.

the woods, where he met with an unfortunate end.*

The learned doubt whether Pythagoras left any works behind him. I will present the reader with a specimen of some lines attributed to him. Whether his or not, they breathe his doctrine, and are in number seventy-two. The following are the most remarkable :

Revere the Powers above, as law ordains.
 Whatever be thy creed, respect thine oath.
 'Tis Fate's decree that ev'ry one must die.
 Pow'r is the neighbour of necessity.
 Let nothing dazzle and confuse thy mind.
 Act in a way that thou can'st not repent.
 Some men can reason well, and some but ill ;
 Do not admire the first, or scorn the last.
 Commence the day with pray'r ; then shalt thou know
 The constitution both of God and man,
 And the great chain, by which creation vast
 Is held together ; thou shalt cease to hope
 For that which is not, knowing all that is.
 Thou shalt perceive that ev'ry ill we feel
 Is by ourselves inflicted, while we lose
 The happiness that's oft within our reach.

If these lines, attributed to Pythagoras, be read with attention, they will be found to contain the principles of moral truth, often enveloped in a mysterious veil, which imparts to them additional attraction. Many genuine ideas and tender reflections are to be found in St. Pierre's *Studies of*

* The death of Pythagoras is differently described by historians. Diogenes Laertes alone quotes four different opinions.

Nature, and always clothed in the language of the heart. He writes as follows :

Death is a benefit to all mankind. It is the night of that unquiet day which we call life. The best of books, which recommends equality, friendship, humanity and concord—the Gospel, has been during whole ages a pretext for the fury of Europeans. After this, who can flatter himself with the idea of being useful to mankind by a book ? Who would live if he could look into futurity ? How many vain inquietudes are occasioned by foreseeing a single misfortune ? Solitude is so essential towards happiness in this world, that it appears to me impossible to taste durable pleasure from any feeling whatever, or to regulate our conduct on any stable principle, unless we form to ourselves an internal solitude, from which our opinion seldom departs, and into which the opinion of other people never enters. In this island, situated on the way to the Indies, what European could live happily, while poor and unknown ? Men wish to know the history of the great and of kings, which is of no use to any one. There is never more than one pleasant side in human life. Like the globe, on which we turn, our rapid revolution endures only for a day, and only a part of it can receive light, while the rest is in darkness. The life of man, with all his projects, resembles a little tour, of which death is the termination. There are evils so terrible and so little deserved, that even the hopes of the sage are shaken by them. Patience is the courage of virtue. It is an instinctive propensity of all sensible and suffering beings to seek refuge in the wildest and most desolate places ; as if rocks were ramparts against misfortune, and the calm of nature could allay the tempest of the soul.—*Paul and Virginia*.

Pythagoras was followed by two other legislators, Zaleuchus and Charondas, who flourished in Great Greece at the period of glory in the mother country.*

* There is on this subject a schism among chronologists. Some of them date the life of Charondas two centuries before

Charondas applied himself less to policy than to the reform of morality, for whatever be the morals of a nation, such is its government. The following were his maxims :

“ Strike the calumniator of virgins. Consign the wicked man to his own heart in profound solitude ; and let any one, who forms a friendly league with him, be punished. Let every innovator, who proposes a change in the ancient laws, do it with a cord round his neck, that he may be strangled if his statute be rejected.”

Zaleuchus founded his legislation on the principle of Deism. “ God is excellent, and demands that our souls should be pure, charitable, and loving towards our fellow creatures.” The sumptuary laws of this philosopher display his slender knowledge of human nature. He thought to banish luxury and unmask corruption, by granting to people of bad morals the exclusive privilege of finery. He did not perceive that the wicked only needed one more mask to appear honest, viz. hypocrisy. His laws left men in possession of their vices, and only made them more completely actors.

the period at which I place it, and I think with reason. Nevertheless, as there are great difficulties in ascertaining the point, and celebrated historians have adopted the era which I assign to him, I have thought myself authorized to follow them.

CHAP. XXXIII.

Influence of the Athenian Revolution on Magna Græcia.

THE influence of the revolution in Greece upon the colonies of Italy was considerable, and in one sense excellent. Croton and Sybaris, at the moment that the Athenian monarchy was overturned, were plunged, as the colonies of France have been, into the horrors of civil-war, and ravaged by brigands.* It is a remarkable circumstance that the branches of a state often surpass the paternal trunk in luxury and vicious beauty. Men, who are left upon a desert coast, think themselves all at once released from the constraint of laws, and being far from the eye of magistracy, abandon themselves to the disorders of society, without having the virtues of nature. The fertility of a fresh soil soon raises them to prosperity; and from these two combined causes results the mixture of wealth and bad morals found in the colonies.

Be this as it may, the republican revolution of France caused the destruction of the West India Islands, while the establishment of the popular government at Athens retarded, on the contrary,

* This is proved by the death of Charondas. It is known that he stabbed himself with his sword, because he had, contrary to his own law, entered the assembly of the people in arms, on returning from his *pursuit of the brigands*.

that of the Greek towns in Italy. Athens, lamenting the fate of these unfortunate cities, caused an associated body of its citizens to restore tranquillity by building a city, to which Charondas gave laws.* These reforms, however, were only temporary. Corruption had too deeply fixed its roots to be completely extirpated, and the malady of the body politic was such that death only could put an end to it.

CHAP. XXXIV.

Sicily.

AT the extremity of Magna Græcia was Sicily,† an island that contained several celebrated places. We will only stop at Syracuse, which occupied so considerable a portion of notice in the history of mankind.

Archias, a Corinthian, had laid the foundation of this colony about the fourth year of the seventeenth Olympiad. From that period to the glorious days of liberty in Greece, its destiny is almost unknown. If obscurity constitutes happiness, Syracuse was happy. Dearly, however, did she pay for this momentary calm ; felicity being never enjoyed with impunity. It is merely an advance

* Thurium.

† It alternately bore the name of Trinacria, Sicania, and Sicilia, and previously to them all, the land of the Lestrygonæ.

which nature has made upon the small sum of human joys. We are only happy by exception to a general rule and by injustice. If we have been very prosperous, others have been great sufferers; for the quantity of good fortune being proportionate to the bulk of mankind, a portion must have been taken from them which was given to us; but sooner or later we must repay it with enormous interest. Whoever has been very fortunate may expect great reverses, of which the Syracusans are an example. From the moment that Xerxes invaded Greece, no people ever afforded a more astonishing subject of contemplation. A strange and long revolution began its course, which continued till the metropolis was taken by the Romans. It was then a common thing to see kings fallen from the height of grandeur to the very lowest degree of misfortune—a monarch to day and a pedagogue to-morrow. But let us not anticipate this great subject.

The form of government in Sicily had been republican till about the time that the Pisistratides were banished from Athens. The manners, the policy, and the religion were those of the mother country. A historian, called Antiochus, several sophists, and some poets* had already appeared. This celebrated island soon became the rendezvous of all the learned men in Greece. They flocked thither from every side, attracted by the gold of

* Stesichorus, Parmenides, &c.

the tyrants, who were amused by their political fancies and literary dissensions.*

That the reaction of the events which overthrew monarchy in Greece was great, prompt and durable with respect to Sicily, we have already seen, when discussing the affairs of Carthage. Syracuse was, after the fall of Hippias, attacked by the Carthaginians, and at the same time that she obtained a victory, forged her own chains. The Syracusans, from gratitude towards Gelon, their general, raised him to royalty. Thus, by mere chance, the mother of virtues and vices, of reputation and obscurity, of happiness and misfortune, the same revolution, which gave liberty to Greece, produced slavery in Sicily.

A more agreeable subject invites us. It is pleasing to remove the eye, which is fatigued by contemplating vice, to the tranquil scenes of innocence. Crossing the Adriatic Sea, we are about to seek, on the borders of the Ister,† those vir-

* Pindar summoned to the court of Hierio his rivals Simonides and Bacchylides, two croaking ravens, who returned the kindness by lyric addresses. Simonides gravely laid down political maxims for the cross-grained tyrant, who doubtless called to mind that the flatterer of Hipparchus had also extolled the assassins of that prince to the skies. Pindar, on his part, harassed the muses to celebrate the horses of Hierio, &c. When will men of letters know how to maintain the dignity which belongs to their character? When will they sing only in praise of virtue? When will they cease to flatter tyranny, under whatever name it cloaks itself?

† I am about to present to the reader the savage, pastoral,

tues which we have not been able to find on the shores of Italy. We may stop for a few moments with a sort of interest in corrupt society, but the heart expands only in the company of upright men.

CHAP. XXXV.

The three Ages of Scythia and Switzerland.

THE happy Scythians, whom the Greeks called barbarians, inhabited those northern regions which lie in the east of Europe and the west of Asia. A king, or more properly a father, guided this wandering people; and his children followed him rather from a feeling of affection than of duty. Their simplicity served them for justice; their good morals constituted their laws; and they found in him an arbitrator during peace, as well as a leader in war. What could the neighbouring monarchs gain by attacking a nation that despised gold and life? Yet Darius was so insensate as to do it, and received from his enemies the energetic symbol which presaged his ruin.* With ridiculous parade he sent them a challenge to the combat. "Come and attack the tombs of our fathers," replied these poor and virtuous people. It would have been an object worthy of a tyrant.

agricultural, philosophical and corrupted age, and thus to give him, without departing from my subject, an index of all societies, and an abridged, but complete history of man.

* A mouse, a frog, and five arrows.

Free as the bird of the desert, the Scythian, reposing in the shade of the valley, saw his young family and flocks sporting round him. Rock honey and the milk of his goats sufficed for the necessities of life; friendship for the gratification of his heart. When the neighbouring hills had yielded all their herbage to his cattle, he stepped with his wife and children into a waggon covered with skins, and emigrated through the woods till he reached the banks of some unknown river, where the freshness of the grass and beauty of the wilds invited him to fix again.

What felicity must this people have enjoyed, beloved by Heaven, as they were! A thousand delights are the lot of uncorrupted man. The grandeur of the forest and retirement of the valley, which fill the soul with silent meditation, the sea breaking at night upon the distant beach, the last rays of the sun gilding the summits of the rocks, all yield him happiness. Under the maples of the Eric* I have seen this favourite of nature,† who feels much and thinks little, who has no reasoning faculty beyond his wants, and who arrives at the results of philosophy like an infant, through his gambols and sleep. Carelessly

* One of the great lakes of Canada.

† By depicting the mental savage of America, I supply a deficiency in Justinus, Herodotus, Strabo, Horace, &c. with regard to the history of the Scythians. People in a state of nature (some trifling differences excepted) resemble each other, and he who has seen one, has seen all.

seated with his legs across each other at the door of his hut, he lets the days pass without counting them. The arrival of birds of passage in autumn, which alight upon the lake at the approach of night, does not announce to him the lapse of years; and the fall of leaves in the forest merely reminds him that frost is returning. Happy as he is to the very bottom of his soul, no restless and agitated expression is ever to be seen upon the countenance of the Indian as upon our's. He merely exhibits that slight touch of melancholy, which is produced by excess of happiness, and which is perhaps only a presentiment of its uncertain continuance. Sometimes, by that instinctive sadness peculiar to his heart, you surprise him plunged in reverie, with his eyes fixed upon a swelling wave, or a tuft of grass shaken by the wind, or the clouds which flit past above his head, in some degree reminding man of the illusions of life. At other times, when these fits of absence pass away, I have often observed him to cast a look of grateful feeling towards Heaven, as if in search of the Great Unknown who pities the poor savage.

Good Scythians, why did you not exist in our days? I would have sought among you shelter from the storm. Far from the mad quarrels of mankind my life should have passed away in the perfect calmness of your deserts, and my remains, perhaps honoured by your tears, would have

found, in your solitary shades, the peaceful tomb which my native land had denied.

The traveller who, for the first time, enters the territory of the Swiss, climbs with difficulty some dark craggy cliff, and all at once perhaps emerges from a wood, where a large lake lies before him, illumined by the sun. The white cones of the Alps covered with snow, tower in the horizon almost to the azure vault of heaven. Rivers and torrents descend from the frozen eminences. Rock plants hang loosely down before large blocks of granite. The chamois bounds across a cataract. Old beech-trees are seen in groups crowning the rocks, and wild vegetation creeping among the broken fragments. Forests of pines aspire from the deep abyss, and the cabin of the Swiss peasant or warrior appears among the alders of the valley.

When the morals of a people accord with the region they inhabit, our gratification is doubled. The ancient labourer of Helvetia vegetated vigorously among his Alpine plants, the more robust from being weather-beaten, and always the more free in proportion to the efforts made by tyrants to abridge his liberty. To adore God, to defend his country, to till his field, to love the wife and children which heaven had given him, constituted the religion and the morality of the Swiss. Ignorant as to the value of gold,* like the

* After having described the battle in which Charles the

Scythian, he knew only the value of independence. If he ever appeared at any court, it was in the simple, unaffected costume of the villager, and with all the frankness of uncontrouled man*.

Bold was killed by the Swiss, Philip de Comines adds: "The spoils of his army greatly enriched the poor inhabitants of Switzerland, who were not at first aware of the valuable booty in their hands, and especially the more ignorant of them. One of the most beautiful and splendid pavilions in the world was divided into several pièces, and quantities of silver plate were sold at a most insignificant price. The great diamond belonging to Charles, which was one of the largest in Christendom, and attached to an enormous pearl, was seized by a Swiss, who first put it into his knapsack, then threw it under a waggon, then sought for it again, and finally offered it to a priest for a florin."

* Mistakes are generally made as to the founders of independence in Switzerland. The three great patriots, who gave liberty to their country, were Stauffacher, Melchtal, and Gautier-Furst. The tragic scenes, which formed a prelude to the insurrection of Helvetia, are described at length in the *Helvetiorum Respublica*, written, I believe, by Simler. They are exceedingly interesting. The adventure of old Henry, whose eyes the governor Landsberg caused to be plucked out; that of Wollfenschiesz the gentleman, with the wife of Conrad the peasant; and the surprise of different castles belonging to the dukes of Austria by the peasantry, carry with them a romantic air, which, in combination with the great natural scenery of the Alps, afford the greatest pleasure to the reader. As to the anecdote of William Tell and the apple, its authenticity is very doubtful. The historian of Sweden, Saxo Grammaticus, reports exactly the same fact of a Swedish governor and peasant. I would have quoted the two passages had they not been so long. The first may be found in Simler's *Helv. Resp. lib. 1. page 58*, and the last at the end of *Coxe's Letters on Switzerland*. At page 62 of the collection entitled *Codex Juris Gentium*, published by William Leibniz in 1593, is the original treaty of alliance between

“ I have seen,” says Philip de Comines, “ an ambassador from this village (Schwitz) with others in very humble attire, and all equally gave their advice.”

The Scythians of the old, and the Swiss of the modern world, attracted the eyes of their contemporaries by the celebrity of their innocence. The different employments of their lives, however, introduced some difference as to their virtues. The first were shepherds, and cherished liberty for her own sake ; the last were agriculturists, and loved her for the sake of their property. The first approached towards primitive purity ; the last had advanced a step nearer to civil vices. The one possessed the content of a savage ; the other by slow degrees substituted conventional enjoyments for it. Perhaps this species of happiness, which exists on those confines where nature finishes and society begins, would be the best if it were dura-

the three first cantons of Uri, Schwitz, and Underwalden, as follows. “ On the first Tuesday after St. Nicholas’s day, 1315. In the name of God, Amen. We, the peasants of Uri, Schwitz, and Underwalden, have resolved and sworn as above, that we will not endure to be governed by lords, nor will we acknowledge any prince or lord. If any of us, the said allies, should rashly, foolishly or wickedly, injure another, such a person shall not be considered a peasant.” The virtue of the Swiss is here depicted in all its *naïveté*. It is a singular circumstance that the orthography of the thirteenth century is easier to be read than that of the fifteenth. I have observed the same to be the case with regard to the old Scotch ballads, which can be more easily decyphered than the English of the same period.

ble. Beyond the social barrier, people remain a long time at the same distance from our institutions; but they no sooner pass the line of demarcation, than they are hurried away towards corruption, without the possibility of checking their own progress.

Hence it is that we stop, in spite of ourselves, to contemplate the spectacle of a satisfied people. It seems as if the examination of their welfare imparted a small portion of it to ourselves. We live much less in ourselves than otherwise. We attach ourselves to every thing that surrounds us; and to this we must attribute the passion which some unfortunate people have shewn, for articles of furniture, trees and animals. Man is greedy after happiness and often misses it. He is incessantly struggling against the evils which threaten to overwhelm him. Like a drowning sailor, he endeavours to seize his more fortunate neighbour, that he may be saved together with him. If this resource fail, he even catches at the recollection of past pleasures, and avails himself of these as of some broken plank, with which he sails upon a sea of troubles.

I could have wished to stop here—I could have wished to leave the reader in complete illusion; but in retracing the happiness of mankind, we have scarcely time to smile before our eyes are filled with tears.

There is no asylum against the danger of opinions. They traverse seas, penetrate into deserts, and agitate nations from one extremity of the

earth to another. Those of republican Greece found their way into the forests of Scythia, and destroyed its happiness.

The innocence of a nation resembles the sensitive plant; to touch it is to injure it. The misfortunes of Scythia were destined to give birth to philosophers, who were ignorant of this truth. Zamolxis, at a period now unknown, introduced among them a system of theology, the principal tenets of which were, the existence of a Supreme Being, the immortality of the soul, and the doctrine of predestination for those heroes who fell on the field of battle.*

This father of wisdom among the Scythians was followed by Abaris, who was sent by his nation as its deputy to Athens. He practised physic, and pretended to sail through the air upon an arrow, which Apollo had given him. He became celebrated, during the first ages of the Church, from having been opposed to Christ by the Platonists.

Toxaris succeeded Abaris in reputation. He left his wife and children for the purpose of studying at Athens, where he died honoured for his probity and virtues.

But the corrupter of the ancient simplicity of the Scythians, was the celebrated Anacharsis. He imagined that his fellow countrymen were barbarians, because they lived according to nature.

* Some think that Zamolxis was of Thracian origin. It is not true that he was a disciple of Pythagoras.

His philosophy was of that kind which sees nothing beyond the circle of our conventions. Being an enthusiastic admirer of Greece, he deserted his country, and went to obtain, under Solon, instructions in the art of framing laws for those who had no need of them. He was not long before he acquired the appellation of a sage, which so little belongs to mankind, and made himself known by his maxims. He said that the vine bears three sorts of fruit—pleasure, intoxication, and remorse. To an Athenian of bad character, who reproached him with his barbarous extraction, he replied, “My country is my disgrace, but you are the disgrace of your country.” The arrogance and baseness of this expression are equally unpardonable; for he, who is so groveling as to despise his country, is unworthy of being called an honest man. This philosopher also said that laws are like spiders’ webs, which only catch the smaller flies, but are broken by the larger. He wrote the art of war in verse, and prepared a code of Scythian institutions. The epistles which bear his name are a forgery.

Thus philosophy was the first step towards the corruption of the Scythians. When the Swiss were virtuous, they were ignorant of letters and the arts. When they began to lose their morals, Haller, Tisnot, Gessner, and Lavater appeared.*

* I knew two Swiss who were complete originals. The one was continually leaving his native mountains, and related to me,

Scythia saw men arise among her inhabitants, who thinking themselves better than their fellow-creatures, moralized at the expense of the latter. The republican revolution of Greece, by fixing the inclinations of these restless people, had a powerful effect upon the destinies of the Nomades. Abaris and Anacharsis, inflated with the vain idea of the knowledge acquired in the schools of Athens, carried back into their country a host of foreign opinions and institutions, with which they corrupted the national customs. There can be no slight change, even in virtue, among a whole people. To alter the very nature of such savages, it was sufficient to introduce among them the potter's wheel.

that at the period of his infancy, it was common for a young man and girl, who were destined to become husband and wife, to sleep together before marriage, and that chastity was not at all infringed upon by this; but that in later times this custom had been reformed for several reasons. The other Swiss was an excellent watch-maker, who had long resided at Paris, and had filled his head with all the sophistry of Helvetius as to virtue and vice. The mode of education, adopted by this man for his daughter, proves how far a person may be led astray by the spirit of system; he had followed Lycurgus. I would willingly quote some particulars of it, but this would be impossible, except by rendering them into Latin, and then too many readers would lose them. He pretended by his method to have given his child feelings of marble, and asserted that the sight of man did not inspire her with the slightest desire. I do not know how far this was true; nor do I know to what extent such an advantage (supposing it possible) should be recommended. I have seen his daughter; she was young and pretty.

Anacharsis paid for his innovations with his life; * but the leaven, which he had introduced, continued to ferment after his death. The Scythians, disgusted with their innocence, drank the poison of civil life. For a long time this appeared bitter to the taste of the free forester; but custom had no sooner rendered it palatable, than it had effects of the most intoxicating kind. The poison crept throughout his system. A strange universe, peopled with phantoms, appeared to his disturbed imagination. Simplicity, justice, truth, and happiness all disappeared.

The torrent of social evils did not rush among the Scythians by one vent only. These martial and pastoral people sold their blood to the neighbouring powers, † who were too cowardly or too weak to defend their own territory. Athens maintained a Scythian guard, in the same manner as the French kings so long surrounded themselves with the brave peasantry of Switzerland. ‡ It was the lot of the ancient inhabitants of the Danube and those of Helvetia, to distinguish themselves,

* His brother killed him with an arrow.

† The ancient historians often mention the Scythians as serving in the pay of the Persians. Louis XI. was the first sovereign who hired the Swiss.

‡ The Swiss have been twice butchered, and nearly under similar circumstances, while defending the kings of France against a nation which has been described as so strongly attached to its sovereigns. The first was at the battle of the Barricades during the time of the League, and the other was in our own days.

at the period of innocence, by the same good qualities — fidelity and simplicity; and by the same vices when corruption took place—the love of wine and gold.* These two nations fought for hire in the cause of other monarchs, which bore no reference to their own country. They remained neutral as to the great revolutions of the states which surrounded them, and enriched themselves by the misfortunes of others, founding a bank on the stock of human calamities. Subjected in all respects to the same fatality, they owed the loss of their morals to the two nations of antiquity and modern times, which bore the greatest resemblance to each other, the Athenians and the French. At the same time objects of esteem and raillery on the part of these satirical nations, † the mountaineer of the Alps and the shepherd of the Ister learnt to blush at their simplicity in Paris and Athens. There were soon no remains of that ancient virtue, which had been shattered by the crush of revolutions. Tradition alone records its former existence, as one sees the mast of a ship which has been wrecked.

* The popular proverbs of Athens and Paris are well known, “ He drinks like a Scythian—he drinks like a Swiss.”

† The Scythians were ridiculed on the stage at Athens as the Swiss are at Paris; the one for their foreign pronunciation of Greek and the other of French. The Greek being no longer a living language, the spirit of pleasantry on the part of Aristophanes is lost. I doubt whether this miserable species of comedy was in a better style of taste than the representation of the Swiss in the Pourceaugnac.

CHAP. XXXVI.

Thrace. Orpheus.

THE Ister divided Scythia from those regions which descend, like an amphitheatre, to the shores of the Bosphorus. This country, known under the general name of Thrace, and finally conquered by Darius, the son of Hystaspes, was divided into several small kingdoms, some of them in a state of barbarism and others civilized. Several Greek colonies had transported the arts thither, and Miltiades had long honoured the country with his presence.

We know but little of its first inhabitants, except that they were cruel and attached to war; nevertheless, one of their customs deserves to be recorded. At the birth of an infant, its relations assembled and shed a flood of tears. This custom is as philosophic as it is affecting.

It was to Thrace that Greece was indebted for the most ancient and perhaps the best of her poets. The ingenious fable, which describes the sweetness of the song of Orpheus, is known to every reader. The magic effects, attributed to his muse, doubtless consisted in a faithful delineation of nature. This poet lived in a semi-barbarous age, and amidst the first culture of the soil. His eyes were incessantly struck with the grand spectacle of the deserts, in which a few trees were felled on the borders of a wood at the termination of an ill-formed furrow, and announced the first efforts of

human industry. This combination of ancient nature and incipient agriculture, exhibiting a field of fresh corn in the midst of an old forest, and a cabin thatched with stubble near the native hut of birch bark, must have supplied Orpheus with images consonant to the tenderness of his mind; and when an unfortunate attachment had imparted to his voice the accents of melancholy, the oak was softened, and hell itself appeared to be touched.

Of many works, which have been attributed to this poet, the fragments subjoined constitute all that are really his.* The Argonauts are not so.

All that to this great universe belongs,
 The vaulted roof of Heav'n, the vast expanse
 Of Ocean's raging waves, the depth profound
 Of Tartarus, each river, fount and rill,
 The immortal Gods and Goddesses themselves,
 Are all created by the pow'r of Jove.
 Jove's the beginning, middle and the end;
 The mighty thunderer's of either sex;
 Jove is himself the wide extended earth,
 And the star-sprinkled sky; Jove is himself
 The essence of all bodies that we know,
 The energy of fire, and wond'rous source
 Of the seas measureless; Jove is the king,
 And general ancestor of all that is:
 He's one and all; for ev'ry thing's contain'd
 In the supreme immensity of Jove.

It would be difficult to express a more sublime subject with more grandeur.

* Even this is not quite certain, but very probable. Cicero has denied that any such person as Orpheus ever existed.

Thrace, as a province of the Persian empire, had its share of the misfortunes which the Greek revolution caused to the human race. Troops marched across its plains, and we may fancy what ravages would be committed by an army of three million undisciplined men. But these calamities were only transient, and the inhabitants of Thrace, sheltered by their forests and uncultivated manners, escaped any prolonged effect, resulting from the fall of monarchy at Athens.*

CHAP. XXXVII.

Macedonia. Prussia.

NEAR Thrace was the little kingdom of Macedonia, the fate of which bore a singular resemblance to that of Prussia. At first it was as obscure as the country of the Teutonic Knights, and only known to the Greeks from the protection which they afforded it. By slow degrees it aggrandized itself through conquest, and its consideration increased in proportion to that of the Electorate of Brandenburg. Under Philip it became master of Greece and under Alexander of the universe. It is impossible to conjecture what degree of power Prussia may attain by following her present system.

* A king of Thrace rendered himself famous by taking the part of the Greeks, and caused the eyes of his sons to be put out for having followed Xerxes.

The same spirit appears to have animated the sovereigns of these two states. War and above all policy were the *traits* which characterized them. History describes the kings of Macedonia as changing sides according to times and circumstances,* lulling their neighbours into security by treaties, and invading their countries directly afterwards.

At the period which we are describing, the manners, religion and customs of the Macedonians resembled those of the other Greek nations, except that being more uncultivated than the rest, and consequently more remote from corruption, they had not produced any philosopher whose name deserves to be recorded.

It cannot be doubted that the fall of Hippias at Athens was attended with serious consequences to Macedonia. The politic Alexander, profiting by the calamities of the times, adroitly maintained his relative position as to the Persians and Greeks; for while they mutually assailed each other, he received the gold of Xerxes, and vowed friendship to his enemies. By such means he kept his own kingdom tranquil, and enriched himself with the spoils of all parties; so that while they exhausted themselves by disastrous wars, he laid the foun-

* Amyntas, who basely gave up his wives to the ambassadors of Darius, permitted his son Alexander to cause the murder of these ambassadors, and this same Alexander had the address to preserve himself in the good graces of Xerxes, the successor of Darius, in spite of this outrage.

dation of the future Alexander's greatness. How incomprehensible is destiny ! Xerxes fled to Salamis before the genius of liberty, and his gold, which remained in a little corner of Greece, annihilated this same liberty, and overturned the empire of Cyrus.

CHAP. XXXVIII.

The Greek Islands. Ionia.

BETWEEN the coasts of Europe and Asia are a multitude of islands, which, at the time we are treating of, had received their inhabitants from different nations of Greece. I will not undertake to describe them, because they themselves constitute part of the empire of the Greeks, and are consequently included in what I state respecting the general revolutions of the latter.

It is, however, necessary to make a few remarks on the moral and political differences which might be found between these islanders, and their fellow countrymen on the two continents of Europe and Asia, at the moment of the invasion of the Persians.

Crete was the most considerable, as well as the most renowned of all these islands. It is known that Lycurgus framed his institutions upon those of Minos ; but the laws of this monarch were fallen into disuse from various causes. A turbulent democracy had taken the place of a mixed royalty, and the Cretans passed, at the time of

the expedition under Xerxes, for the most deceitful and unjust people of Greece. They refused to assist the Athenians against the Medes.

The other islands, by turns subjected to petty tyrants, or plunged in democracy, floated in a perpetual sea of troubles. Rhodes distinguished itself by its commerce, Lesbos by its corruption, and Samos by its wealth. Some of them joined the Persians;* others were subjugated;† a small portion adhered to the cause of liberty.‡ In a word, we may consider the Greek islanders as holding a middle station between the virtue of Sparta and Athens, and the vices of the Ionian cities; forming the demi-tint which unites the good morals of the Lacedæmonians to the corruption of the Asiatic Greeks.

As to the latter, we shall shortly see how they became the causes of the Median war. Considering them at present only on the side of morality, virtue no longer existed among the people of Ionia. Voluptuous, rich, and enervated by the delights of the climate, they might have been taken for those slaves who walked in the suite of Xerxes, had not their language revealed their origin.

* Cyprus, Paros, Andros, &c.

† Eubœa.

‡ Salamis and Egina. The latter had originally declared for the Persians, during the reign of Darius; but afterwards returned to the cause of its country.

CHAP. XXXIX.

Tyre. Holland.

AFTER having thus made the tour of Europe, we enter Asia, and before we describe the great scenes that Persia will supply, it remains for us only to say a few words respecting a maritime power, which, though subjected to the sway of Cyrus, has nevertheless acted too conspicuous a part in ancient times, not to deserve a separate article in this work.

On quitting Ionia and advancing along the coasts of Asia Minor towards the north, we find Tyre, a city celebrated throughout the east for its commerce and wealth.

Hypsuranius had, in the remotest ages, laid the foundation of this Phœnician capital.* It was led to the pursuits of commerce by the same circumstance which influences most nations—the harshness of its soil. It is seldom that countries, highly favored by nature, have had a mercantile spirit.†

This village, which was at first formed, like the original Dutch cities, of miserable huts built by fishermen and covered with reeds, became ere long

* If I do not here follow the common opinion, which makes Tyre a colony of Sidon, it is because I think that we ought rather to believe a Phœnician historian than foreign authors. See *Just. lib.* 18, c. 3.

† We must except Carthage among the ancients, and Florence among the moderns.

a superb metropolis. Its vessels sailed in search of the products of more fertile countries, and its industrious inhabitants converted these, by their manufactories, into articles which suited the luxuries or necessities of life. The Batavia of the Phœnicians was Boetica, from which gold flowed into their states. They received linen from Egypt, corn and riches from India and Arabia.* The western coast of Europe furnished them with iron, lead, and tin. They bought oil at the markets of Athens, some kinds of timber, and bales of books; and at those of Corinth, vases and copper articles. The isles of the Egean Sea supplied them with wines and fruits; Sicily with cheese; Phrygia with carpets; the Euxine Sea with slaves, honey, wax, and leather; Thrace and Macedonia with timber and dried fish. These greedy merchants afterwards carried these commodities to other nations; and Tyre, like Amsterdam, became the *entrepôt* of general commerce.

The constitution of Phœnicia appears to have been monarchical;† but it is probable that an

* The Tyrians themselves carried on the commerce of the Indies, having possessed themselves of several ports in the Arabian Gulf. Previously the merchandize was carried by land to Rhinocoluris on the Mediterranean, and there shipped for Tyre. See Robertson's *Disquisition on the Ancient Indies*, Sect. 1, p. 9.

† We find princes of Tyre and Sidon mentioned in history. Scripture is our guide on this subject; but the ancients attached a meaning to the words *prince* and *king* so different to the

oligarchy prevailed in the government. The wealth of the Tyrians, which scripture compares to that of the princes of the earth, gives rise to this conjecture.

In countries where the inhabitants occupy themselves exclusively with the pursuits of commerce, the *belles lettres* are generally neglected. A mercantile spirit contracts the soul; and he, who busies himself with a ledger, seldom opens a philosophical treatise. Nevertheless, Phœnicia furnishes some celebrated names; among them are those of Moschus and Sanchoniathon. The former is the author of the system of atoms, which was received by Pythagoras, and afterwards adopted and extended by Epicurus. The other wrote the history of Phœnicia, from which I will extract some passages.

“ And at that time Hypsuranius dwelt at Tyre, and he invented the mode of building reed-huts. And a great enmity arose between him and his brother Usous, who was the first that had covered his nakedness with the skins of wild beasts. And a violent storm of wind and rain having rubbed the branches one against another, they took fire, and the forest was consumed at Tyre. And Usous, taking a tree, after having broken off its branches, was the first who was bold enough to venture on the waves.

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“ They begot Agrus (a field) and Agrotēs (a labourer). The statue of the latter was particularly honoured. One pair of oxen or several walked in his temple throughout Phœnicia. And he is called in books the greatest of the gods.”

one adopted by the moderns, that we must not decide too hastily as to the form of a government.

In addition to the curious origin of navigation and agriculture, which are found in this passage, the antique simplicity of the style completely harmonizes with the manners which it calls to mind, and is pleasing. Holland boasts of having produced Erasmus, Grotius, and a crowd of learned men known by their literary researches.

Phœnicia experienced great revolutions. Like Holland she had to sustain memorable wars; and the different sieges of her capital bring to our recollection those of Haerlem and Antwerp,* in the reign of Philip the Second. Towards the middle of the sixth century before our era, Tyre, after a resistance of thirteen years, was taken and destroyed to its very foundation by a king of Assyria. The inhabitants, who escaped from the ruin of their country, built a new Tyre on an island not far from the continent upon which the former one had flourished. This city passed by turns under the yokes of the Medes and Persians,† and remained in feeble obscurity till the time of Darius, who re-established it in its ancient privileges. It was during this period of calamities,

* Bentivoglio has related at length, with all his usual affectation, the fatigues of these two sieges. The first was miraculously raised, the Dutch having attacked the Spanish camp in boats during a tide of the autumnal equinox. The second was esteemed the *chef-d'œuvre* of the great Farnese, and in some degree resembled that of Tyre by Alexander. Antwerp was taken by breaking down a dike.

† It followed the revolutions of the kingdoms in the East, to which it was from that time subjected.

that Carthage raised itself upon the ruins of Tyre.

When the Median war took place, Phœnicia was compelled by her rulers to enter into the general league against Greece. Without any opinion of her own, she lent her vessels to the great king,* as she would have united them with those of the republics, if the latter had at the time been the stronger. She was conquered at the battle of Salamis;† but commerce soon healed this wound, and the immediate influence of the Greek revolution was confined, as far as regarded the Tyrians, to this passing misfortune, though it extended to them in the sequel, and Tyre submitted, like the rest of the East, to Alexander. The frigid merchants continued to import and export, from one country to another, the superfluities of nations; without embarrassing themselves as to the idle systems, by which other nations were tormented. All their ideas were centred in their bales of stuffs, and like the Batavians they sold books written by the most enlightened men of their age, without having opened one of them. Perhaps, too, the inhabitants of Tyre carried on a traffic in political principles; for during revolutions,

* The Phœnicians and Egyptians constructed the bridge of boats, over which Xerxes led his army.

† The Phœnician galleys formed the left wing of the Persian squadron at the battle of Salamis. They were immediately opposed to the Athenians, and were commanded by a brother of Xerxes. They fought with great valour.

opinions are the only commodities which find a ready sale.

CHAP. XL.

Persia and Germany.

WE now enter the great theatre of events. After having considered in detail the different states with reference to the establishment of republics in Greece, and *vice versâ*, this establishment with reference to the different states, we are about to contemplate all these nations moving *en masse*, under the general influence of this same revolution, and constituting only a single body. We are about to see them rise at the same moment, for the purpose of overturning principles and a government which their efforts will only consolidate; and these efforts of the allies, being ill directed, lukewarm and partial, will fail against a community less numerous but united; not so rich but free.

I pass in silence the Ethiopians, the Jews, the Chaldeans, and the Indians, though, at the period of the Greek revolution, they had already made considerable progress in the sciences. The sum of their philosophy and knowledge reduced itself generally to a belief in a Supreme Being, a knowledge of the stars, and an acquaintance with the secrets of nature. They were, in common with the rest of the Oriental world, governed by kings and sects of priests, who, like their bre-

thren in Egypt, conducted their proceedings on a mysterious system, for the purpose of subjecting the people, by ignorance, to the yoke of civil and religious tyranny. In Ethiopia the members of this holy order bore the name of Gymnosophists, in Judea that of Levites, in Chaldea that of priests, in Arabia that of Zabiens, and in India that of Bramins or Brachmanes.* Each country too boasted of its great men; the Ethiopians of Atlas, the Arabians of Lokman, the Jews of Moses, the Chaldeans of Zoroaster, and the Indians of Buddas.† Some had written on nature, others on history, but most on morality. Of all these works the fables of Lokman, and the history of Moses, are the only ones which have reached us. The books, attributed to Zoroaster the Chaldean, are not originals.

The majority of these different countries being either subject to the court of Suza, or ignorant of the Greeks, it would be useless to stop among them. Let us return to the vast dominions of Cyrus.

The empire of the Medes and Persians, at the moment of the fall of Hippias, extended from the river Indus on the East to the Mediterranean on the West, and from the frontiers of Ethiopia

* And also Gymnosophists,

† What we know of Buddas is very uncertain. The partisans of the old religion, at the moment of the establishment of Christianity, opposed Buddas to Christ, saying that the former had also been born of a virgin.

and Carthage on the South to those of the Scythians on the North, comprising a space of forty degrees in latitude and more than sixteen in longitude.*

Formed by degrees from the ruins of other states, but few years had elapsed since this enormous colossus loaded the earth. The empire of the Assyrians, which at first constituted the greatest part of it, was conquered by the Medes. towards the sixth century before our era. The celebrated Cyrus, having united on his head the crowns of Persia and Media, overturned the throne of Lydia, which was in a flourishing state under Croesus in Asia Minor, about the time that Pisis-tratus reigned in Athens. Cambyses, the successor of Cyrus, added Egypt to his possessions, and Darius, the son of Hystaspes, under whom began the memorable war of the Persians and Greeks, united with his immense domains several regions of Thrace and the Indies.

Principem dat Deus, the maxim which brought Charles the First to the scaffold, formed the whole political rights of Persia. The nature of such a government is sufficiently obvious. The authority of the great king was, nevertheless, not so absolute as that of the Sultans of Constantinople at the present day ; for he shared it with a council, which constituted a part of the sovereignty.

* Eight hundred leagues in latitude and three hundred in longitude, reckoning the degrees of longitude at about eighteen leagues one with another.

In civil cases the laws were pure, and justice scrupulously administered by judges elected from the elders. On weighty occasions the matter was brought before the king. The criminal trials were public. The accuser was confronted with the accused; and the latter was allowed all the means of defence which he thought favourable to his innocence, or likely to palliate his guilt. This admirable custom, which still exists in England, was abolished in France for the execrable law of secret interrogatories.

At the period of the abolition of monarchy in Greece, society had perhaps made more progress towards civilization in Persia than in any other part of the globe. A regular course of administration guided in harmony all the resources of the empire. The provinces were governed by Satraps, or commanders delegated by the crown. The armies and finances were systematically arranged,* and an establishment existed which no other nation could boast; *viz.* that of posts, established by Cyrus on the principle of modern times, and connecting the scattered members of the vast body. After the discovery of printing, this institution holds the next rank among those inventions which may be said to have altered the human race, and it

* The revenue was very great. The provinces furnished the king's palace and the army with provisions. The armies themselves were composed like our's of regular troops, garrisoned in the provinces, and regiments of militia, obliged to march immediately upon receiving orders.

was not one of the least causes of the rapid influence which the Greek revolution had on Persia. It would require only that couriers should be employed in the common relations of life, to overturn all the thrones of the east at this day. Among the Medes they were reserved for affairs of state.

The Persians differed in religion from the rest of the world, as far as it was then known. They adored the planet, whose productive heat appears to be the soul of the universe. They had neither the solemnities of Greece, nor buildings erected to their Gods.* The desert was their temple, a mountain their altar; and the magnificence of their sacrifices consisted in the rising sun suspended at the portals of the east, and casting his first smile on the forests, the cataracts and valleys.†

At the time that monarchy was overthrown in France, Germany, like the Persia of former times, was a body composed of different parts, collected under one head. Though Leopold had not by right the same power over the circles which Darius had over the satraps, he nevertheless had it in fact. The same abuse prevailed as to the supreme

* This is only true of the primitive religion of the Persians. They had temples afterwards.

† It is probable that the name of Mithra, under which the Persians adored the sun, was originally that of some hero. He was represented on ancient monuments, which have been found, as mounted on a bull, armed with a sword, and crowned with a tiara. Some of his attributes belong to the Apollo of the Greeks.

dignity ; for the German Empire, though elective, might be regarded as hereditary.

The military system of Joseph II. enjoyed the same reputation among us, which that of Cyrus possessed among the ancients. These two princes made their principal force consist in cavalry, but the latter placed the security of his states in fortified places, whereas the former thought he should destroy them.

The Anabaptists, the Herrnhüter, the Protestants and the Catholics divided among them the religious opinions of the modern empire of the west, in the same manner as the adorers of Mithra,* of Jehovah,† of Jupiter,‡ of Brahma § and of Apis, || influenced the east in ancient times.

The feudal *regime* oppressed the German labourer nearly in the same way that the slavery of Persia disheartened the subject of the great king. A considerable difference, however, is perceptible in these unfortunate people, and this consists in their morals. Those of the former nation were just and pure, principally on account of its indigence. Let no one conclude from this that Germany is defective as to knowledge. I have found more intelligence and good sense among the peasants of that country ¶ than in any other Eu-

* The Persians. † The Jews. ‡ The Ionians.

§ The people of the Indus. || The Egyptians.

¶ Some years ago, on entering a miserable public-house between Mayence and Frankfort, I perceived an old peasant in gaiters, with a cap on his head and a hat above the cap ; he had

ropean nation, not excepting England, where the people are full of prejudices. One of the principal causes that morality keeps its ground in Germany is the virtue of the clergy. I shall speak of this elsewhere.

The hanging gardens of Babylon and the immense palaces of the kings, decorated with paintings and statues, attest the reign of the fine arts in the empire of Cyrus. His vast states, composed of a thousand different nations, might furnish an inexhaustible mine of poetry, differing in its colours according to the manners and nature, of which it reflected the tints. Effeminate in Ionia, superb in the purple of Media, simple and pastoral on the mountains of Persia, and voluptuous

laid down a staff and was untying a leather purse which was filled with gold, and from which he was paying his bill. I expressed my astonishment that he should venture to travel with so considerable a sum on roads covered with Tyrolians and Pandours. "It is the money produced by the sale of my cattle and other stock," said he. "I am going into Suabia with my wife and children. I have seen war before, and then the poor labourers at least were spared, but this is not war, it is pillage. Friends or enemies, every one plunders us." Here the peasant perceived the old uniform of the French infantry under my mantle, and added, "Excuse me, Sir." "You are mistaken friend," said I. "Formerly I was employed, but am no longer so. In fact I am only a poor refugee like yourself." "So much the worse," was his only answer. Then arranging his hair under his hat, taking his staff with one hand, and a glass half full of Rhenish wine with the other, he said, "Captain, God bless you!" and departed. I know not why, the *so much the worse*, and *God bless you* of this good man have rested on my memory.

in the Indies, the Muse sung with the Arab of the patriarch amidst his flocks and family, seated under the palm-tree of the desert.

I am about to make the reader acquainted with some precious remnants of Oriental literature, deduced from the Sanscrit * which I have before

* A note on the Sanscrit may be acceptable to some of my readers. It is the sacred language in which the books of the Brahmins are written, and is known to none but them. This language was, in ancient times, so universal through the East, that it was spoken, according to Mr. Halhed, (the first Englishman who was able to understand it) from the Gulph of Persia to the seas of China. The proofs of this, which he adduces, are derived from inscriptions on different coins of these countries,† and from the resemblance between the languages in several respects; he extends these observations to Greek and Latin. ‡ The Sanscrit was only spoken in the higher ranks of society, there having been two vulgar languages for the people. This singularity

† This is not a convincing proof, for the Sanscrit alphabet might be engraved on Persian and Indian coins, &c. without its resulting therefrom that the same language was spoken in these different countries. It is known that the Chinese and Tartars at present understand each other in writing, though their idioms are as different from each other as those of the Turks and French. The Chinese letters are only general characters, like the Arabian numbers. They are the signs of certain ideas, and every one translates them into his own language.

‡ I am tempted to believe that there was formerly an universal language. The resemblance of the ancient Greek and Roman characters to those of Arabia, the multiplied similarities, as to etymology, in the Sanscrit, the Oriental languages, the Greek, Latin, Celtic, the dialects of the South Sea and America, with several other reasons, which do not belong to my subject, appear to support this conjecture.

mentioned. I am justified in doing this on the present occasion, because the Persian empire extended over a considerable part of the Indies.

The first fragment is extracted from the Mahabarat, an epic poem of about four hundred thousand lines, composed by the Brachmane Kreeslina Dioppayen Veias, three thousand years before our era. It is taken from the episode called Baghvat Geeta.*

The subject of this ancient remnant of Indian genius is a civil war between two branches of the

larity is placed beyond dispute by dramas written in the three dialects. The different works, translated from the Sanscrit into English, are the *Maharabat* and *Sacontala*, from which I shall quote some passages; *Heeto-Pades*, or the original work from which the fables of *Æsop* and *Pilpay* are borrowed; *the five Diamonds*, or the stanzas of five poets; an ode translated from *Wulli*; and part of the *Shaster*. Besides these works of an entertaining nature, the Sanscrit has supplied several on the sciences, among which is the celebrated *Surya-Siddhanta*, containing astronomical tables of the highest antiquity, and calculated on the theorems of trigonometry with rigorous exactness. The chronology of the Indians was divided into four ages: 1st. The *Suttee Jogue*, or age of purity. Its duration was three millions two hundred thousand years. The men lived a hundred thousand years. 2dly. The *Tirtah Jogue* (the third of the world corrupted). Its period was two millions four hundred thousand years. The life of man was ten thousand years. 3dly. The *Davapar Jogue* (half the human race vicious). It endured one million seventeen hundred thousand years. Man then lived only a thousand years. 4thly. The *Colle Jogue* (all mankind depraved). This is the present age, which will endure four hundred thousand years, and of these five thousand are already past.—See *Robertson's Historical Disquisition*.

* Translated into English by Dr. Wilkins in 1785.

royal house of Bhaurat. The two armies are ranged in battle array, and on the point of commencing the action, when the god Kreeshna, who accompanies Arjoon, one of the two kings, like Minerva attending Telemachus, encourages his pupil to advance in his chariot among the combatants. Arjoon looks, and perceives, on one side and the other, nothing but fathers, sons, brothers, and friends ready to destroy each other. Seized with sorrow and compassion he exclaims :

“ Oh Kreeshna, in thus beholding my friends impatient for the signal of attack, my limbs fail me, my colour fades, my hair stands on end, and all my body shakes with horror. Even Gandew my bow falls from my hand, and my parched skin clings to my bones. When I shall have given death to these dear parents, can I still ask for happiness ? I have no ambition for victory, oh Kreeshna ! What want have I of pleasure or of power ? Of what avail will empires be, delights, or life itself, when those are gone, who alone give value to empires, to delights and life ? Fathers, ancestors, sons, grandsons, uncles, nephews, cousins, parents and friends ! You wish my death, and yet I wish not your's. No—not for the empire of the three regions of the universe, and still less for this small territory.”

The simplicity and pathos of this fragment are truly beautiful. It is astonishing that we do not find in it that irregularity of imagination and copious richness of colouring, which is the predominant character of Oriental poetry. The above is more in the style of Homer. But after this apostrophe of Arjoon, Kreeshna, to prove that he ought to fight, enlarges on the duties of a prince, and enters into a long theological and moral controversy with his pupil. Here bad taste and the

priest are evident. As a companion to the Indian poem we will fix on the epic of Germany. The muse of that country, nourished by a meditation of the Scriptures, has often all the majesty and simple magnificence of the Hebrews, and we find, in the cold regions of the German empire, the enthusiasm and warmth of genius, which distinguished the poets of Israel.

Klopstock has described, in his immortal poem, the conspiracy of hell against the Messiah. The sacrifice is about to be accomplished, the priests triumph, and the Son of Man is condemned. Followed by his mother, his disciples, the Roman guards and all Judea, he advances, bearing his cross to the place of execution. He arrives on Golgotha. Then Eloa, commissioned by the Eternal, distributes the angels of the earth around the mountain. Some assemble together on clouds, others hover in the air.

Gabriel goes to seek the souls of the patriarchs, and places them on the Mount of Olives, that they may witness the great sacrifice ; Uriel at the same time brings all the human souls which are to be born. The immense globe, which they inhabited, receives orders to fly towards the sun, and intercept its light. Satan and all the powers of hell, buried in the Dead Sea under the ruins of Gomorra, contemplate the redemption. The innumerable celestial spirits, which people the suns and stars, and those which environ Jehovah, have their eyes fixed on the Saviour ; and the Holy of

Holies, retired in his incomprehensible profundity, counts the hours of the great mystery.

The executioner came up to the Redeemer. Then all the worlds, with wide extended roar, stopped at the points of their orbits, whence they were to proclaim the redemption. They stood still! the thunder of the poles died away, and sunk into silence! Silent was the whole motionless creation, showing to all under Heaven the hour of sacrifice. . . . Now the angels, arrayed in all their unfading glories, looked down. Jehovah himself looked down, and supported the sinking earth: he looked down on Jesus, whom with barbarous hands they nailed to the cross. As when almighty death overspreads the creation, and throughout a world corruption silent sleeps, no living being standing on the dust of the dead; so, in solemn silence, the angels, and thine Omnipotent Father, O crucified Jesus! looked on thee. . . .

The earth was silent at the descending twilight, and as the gloom increased, deeper was the silence. Terrifying shades and palpable darkness came on. The birds ceased their notes, and sought the thickest groves: the very insects hurried to their retreats, and the wild beasts of the desert fled to their lonely dens. A death-like silence reigned through the air. The human race, standing aghast, looked up to Heaven. The darkness became still more dark. What a night in the midst of day! The intercepting planet had, to all human eyes, extinguished the sun. How terrifying the awful night which thus involved in sable darkness the extended fields, and was rendered doubly terrible by this solemn silence! . . .

Now the colour of life instantaneously vanished never to return: his faded cheeks became sunk, and his head hung on his breast: with difficulty he raised it up towards Heaven; but unable to sustain its weight, soon it dropped. The pendant sky formed an arch round Golgotha, more silent and dreadful than the sepulchral vault, and sable clouds of wide extent hung over the cross. In an instant the silence ceased, and a noise, ushered in by no murmuring sound, suddenly burst from the earth with a roar so tremendous, that the sepulchres of the dead and the pinnacles of the Temple shook.

Silence, with steady foot, again stood on the earth. Again the gloom began to disperse, and the unborn, the human race, and the dead, speechless gazed on the Redeemer. Meanwhile our general mother, with soothing melancholy, now her sweet companion, viewed her son, the divine Saviour, under his lingering death. On beholding him, her eyes were sometimes dimmed by obscuring affliction and soft sympathetic sorrow, and sometimes lost the power of sight.

The Messiah now downward bent his looks on a fair mortal, whom with fixed regard he viewed, while she with drooping head and a countenance pale and mournful, trembling stood at the foot of the cross, involved in silent sorrow: her eyes, fixed by grief on the ground, shed no tears; for the kind relief of those heart-easing drops was now withheld. "This," said the first of women, "can be no other than the Saviour's mother! Ah, she it is! Thy grief, oh my daughter, tells me that thou art she who bore thy Lord and mine.—Thou art Mary! What thou now feelest I felt for my dear murdered Abel when he lay breathless, with his own blood distained.—How I pity thee!—Thy grief equals what I then felt.—O thou tender mother of my dear dying Jesus!" Thus to herself she spake, while with an affectionate look her eyes hung on Mary: nor yet had they left her beloved daughter, had not two angels of death, with awful, solemn flight, approached from the east. Silent and slow they came. Their look was like that of a flaming fire. Destruction sat in their faces, and their vesture was the gloom of night. Thus they moved to the hill of the cross.

Sent by the supreme Lord, they drew near, and so tremendous was their appearance, that the souls of the progenitors of the human race sunk nearer to the earth. As far as those who have left their earthly tabernacles can lose themselves in the thoughts of the grave, they now approached the verge of mortality, and images of death, with the terrors of sepulchral corruption, hovered round the immortals.

The angels of death standing on the hill, face to face, viewed the dying Saviour; then one rising to the right and the other to the left, with sounding pinions, seven times flew round the cross. Two wings covered their feet, two trembling wings

their faces, and with two they flew. These, when expanded, sent forth groans and sighs and sounds of death. Thus to the man of humanity resounds the field of battle, where thousands lie swimming in blood: with horror he turns away, and flying from the groans of one, his ears are struck with those of another. Dreadful the angels hovered. The terrors of God sat on their expanded wings; the terrors of God rushed down. Their horrors flew: seven times they flew around. The dying Jesus, raising his languid head, looked at the angels of death, then cast up his eyes to heaven, and cried with a voice which none but his almighty Father heard, "Oh cease to increase the torture of these wounds! I know the beat of their wings, these sounds of death. O my God, forbear!" Instantly the two angels bent their airy flight towards heaven; but first cast a dreadful look on Jerusalem and her inhabitants, who stood around. On their ascent they left the ethereal spectators under deeper dejection, and pensiveness more profound.

Messiah, Canto 8. Published Translation.

Heaven and hell, mankind, the generations that have passed away, and the generations yet to be born, the globes stopped in their revolutions, the course of the universe suspended, nature covered with a dark cloud, a God expiring—what a picture! Its sublimity will apologize for the length of the quotation.

The second fragment, which I shall give from the Sanscrit, is of a nature totally opposite to the first. A great number of dramatic pieces have been discovered among the Indians, written in the sacred language; they are regular in the progress of action, and interesting in their subjects. If it were possible to doubt the high civilization of the ancient Indians, this peculiarity alone would be sufficient to prove it, while at the same time it de-

prives the Greeks of the honour of having been the inventors of the dramatic art.

The Indian theatre not only admitted the mask and buskin, but had also recourse to the shepherd's crook. It took pleasure in representing rural manners, and was not afraid of being debased by painting pictures of nature. Sacontala, a princess of illustrious birth, had been educated by a hermit in a sacred grove, where the first years of her life had been spent in rustic pursuits and pastoral innocence. Being about to quit her dear retreat, and repair to the court of a great monarch, to whom she is betrothed, the companions of her early days thus deplore their loss, and offer up prayers for her welfare.

Hear, oh ye trees, of this hallowed forest; ye trees, in which the sylvan goddesses have their abode; hear, and proclaim that Sacontala is going to the palace of her wedded lord; she who drank not, though thirsty, before you were watered; she who cropped not, through affection for you, one of your fresh leaves, though she would have been pleased with such an ornament for her locks; she whose chief delight was in the seasons when your branches are spangled with flowers!

Chorus of invisible Wood-nymphs.

"May her way be attended with prosperity! May propitious breezes sprinkle, for her delight, the odoriferous dust of rich blossoms! May pools of clear water, green with the leaves of the lotos, refresh her as she walks! and may shady branches be her defence from the scorching sun-beams.

Sacontala, on leaving the wood, asks of Canna the hermit permission to bid adieu to the *Madhavi creeper*, whose red blossoms inflame the grove. After having embraced this most radiant of twining

plants, and intreated it to return this embrace with its flexible arms, she exclaims:

Ah! what is it that clings to the skirts of my robe, and detains me?

Canna. It is thy adopted child, the little fawn, whose mouth, when the sharp points of Cusa grass had wounded it, has been so often smeared by thy hand with the healing oil of Ingredi; who has been so often fed by thee with a handful of Syámaká grains, and now will not leave the footsteps of his protectress.

Sac. Why dost thou weep, tender fawn, for me who must leave our common dwelling place?—As thou wast reared by me when thou hadst lost thy mother, who died soon after thy birth, so will my foster-father attend thee, when we are separated, with anxious care.—Return, poor thing, return,—we must part.

(She bursts into tears.)

Can. Thy tears, my child, ill suit the occasion; we shall all meet again. Be firm. See the direct road before thee, and follow it.—When the big tear lurks beneath thy beautiful eyelashes, let thy resolution check its first efforts to disengage itself.—In thy passage over this earth, where the paths are now high, now low, and the true path seldom distinguished, the traces of thy feet must needs be very unequal; but virtue will press thee right onward.

If this dialogue be not consonant with our manners, it nevertheless breathes the calm freshness of the Idyl. The last instructions of Canna, in the style of an Oriental apologue, though occurring at an improper juncture, are full of amiable philosophy. The Theocritus of the Alps has furnished Germany with a counterpart to this little work.

Pyrrhus, prince of Krissa, and Arates, friend of Pyrrhus, have sent, by order of the Gods, the former his son Evander, and the latter his daughter Alcimne, to be secretly reared among pea-

sants. Love touches the hearts of Evander and Alcimne, and they become attached to each other without knowing their illustrious rank. The princes arrive, reveal the secret, and the lovers are united. The Evander of Gessner is not his best work ; but it is curious on account of its resemblance to Sacontala. There is something, which opens to us a vast field for philosophic contemplation, in finding the human mind produce the same subject after an interval of five thousand years, and on the opposite side of the globe. When the author of Sacontala flourished in the warm climate of India, what was barbarous Helvetia?

Alcimne has learnt the secret of her birth, and is surrounded by attendants who are describing the manners of court. Like the Indian princess, she regrets her woods, her flock, her crook, and above all, her attachment.

Second Attendant.

Allow me to tell you, that you must renounce the manners of the country to adopt those of the court. A lady of rank should know how to maintain her dignity. We have received orders not to quit you, and we are to give you instructions.

Alcimne.

I like better our manners ; they are simple, natural, and at once intelligible. No one gives instructions as to them ; and should any one attempt it, he would be ridiculed like a person who should attempt to teach a bird some note unlike his own. But tell me, how do you live in the city ? I much fear that I shall not like it.

Second Attendant.

In the morning, when you awake, which is not till noon, for the ladies of high life never wake at the same hour as the lower orders—

Alcimne.

At noon ! Then I should never hear the matin song of the birds—I should never see the sun rise ? That would not suit me.

First Attendant.

Your beauty will not fail to procure you many admirers. You must study to please all, but allow none to hope much.

Alcimne.

They, who talk to me of love, will only disgust me, for I can love none but the man who already possesses my affections.

Second Attendant.

How ! Already possesses them !

Alcimne.

Yes certainly ; nor do I blush at making the avowal. With all my heart I love a peasant, and he as tenderly loves me. He is beautiful as the rising sun, and charming as spring. Perhaps the nightingale herself does not equal his song. Yes, dear object of my affection, thou art the only one that I shall ever love. These verdant trees shall die, and the sun cease to enliven these sweet meadows, ere thy Alcimne shall be faithless to thee. Yes, best beloved, I swear—

Second Attendant.

Do not that. Your father will never allow you to descend so far beneath your illustrious birth.

Alcimne (incensed.)

What do you mean ? My illustrious birth ! How ! Can any one be illustrious who is not noble and honourable ? Oh, I understand not your strange lessons. You must infuse into them less study and more nature. No, I shall never comprehend them. My father is reasonable, I am sure. He will not require me to abandon what I most love in the world, and love what I most hate. Ye charming retreats, cool shades, and harmless occupations, with what regret shall I quit you ! I shall always prefer you to the bustle of the city ; but quit you I must, for I do it to follow a dear parent. He will not have come hither to make me miserable ; yet miserable indeed should I be if he wished to separate me from the man whom I love more than myself. Oh my friends, do not cause me this uneasiness. Am I not wrong in giving way to it ? *Evander, Act 3, Scene 5.*

The name of the celebrated Zoroaster, * recalls to our minds the founder of the Persian philosophy, and the order of the Magi. His doctrine was sublime, like his morality. He inculcated the existence of two principles, the one good, the other bad, which disputed the empire of nature. † The duration of the first embraced all the ages that were past and to come; the existence of the second was to cease with that of the world.

This ancient sage was followed, about the time of Darius son of Hystaspes, by another philosopher of the same name, who altered some part of his predecessor's doctrines. Like the first Zoroaster, he admitted the two natures, but he derived them from a primitive Being, whose immensity of attention was never directed towards so imperceptible a creature as man. He said that these subordinate powers would reign by turns on the earth, each for a period of six thousand years; that the evil genius would at length be subjugated by the good one; and that then the inhabitants of this world would be released from their gross covering, would feel no wants, and be in a state of perfect happiness, wandering through enchanted woods, like airy shades.

* This first Zoroaster is the Chaldaean, of whom I have already spoken. Aristotle dates his existence six thousand years before the fall of Troy.

† Hyde makes a curious observation as to the evil power. The Persians wrote his name with inverted letters. They call him Arimanius, and the good genius Orosmales. - Greece

The writings of the first Zoroaster have perished in the revolutions of empires; a few of those, which the second left, have been preserved. The most considerable of them is the *Zend*,* which still exists among the ancient Persians, dispersed upon the frontiers of the Indies. This sacred book is divided into two parts; the one is a treatise on religious ceremonies, the other consists of moral precepts.

We possess also the fragments of another work by the same philosopher, under the title of *The Oracles of Zoroaster*.†

The theory of governments appears to have been familiar to the sages of Persia. Some authors represent the ancient Zoroaster in the character of a legislator; and Herodotus introduces the Persian lords, after the assassination of the Magus, as deliberating on the mode of government to be adopted for the empire. Othanes proposed democracy. “A tyrant,” says he,—τὰ μὲν γὰρ ὕβρει κεκοιμημένος, ἔρδει πολλά και ἀτάσθαλα· τὰ δὲ φθόνῳ—“sometimes puffed up with hatred, sometimes with pride, commits horrible actions.” Megabyzus inclined towards an oligarchy, and represented the violence of the people in strong colours. Darius spoke in favour of royalty, and carried the point.

The Magi and other priests of the Persian do-

* The Magi formed an epitome of this work, under the name of *Sadder*, which they read to the people on holy days.

† Patricius published 323 lines of it towards the end of his myself. *Opuscula de Universis*, printed at Ferrara in 1591.

I not wrong in §.

minions excelled in the studies of nature. Their knowledge of astronomy may be estimated by a series of observations made during nineteen hundred and three years, which Calisthenes, a Greek philosopher attached to the suite of Alexander, found at Babylon. Nor must we forget the mysterious science called by the name of the sect which practised it. The science of magic proves two things--the ignorance of the Eastern nations, and the misfortunes of ancient times. People do not attempt to dive into futurity unless they are sufferers at present.

It is impossible to suppose that so much knowledge could occupy one scale, without being balanced by an equal portion of corruption in the other. We find indeed that frightful despotism prevailed through the territories of Cyrus; that the Satraps, who were become the petty tyrants of the provinces, trampled on the people who were prostrate at their feet, and that the virus of luxury and distress had infected both the high and low. It results from this moral and political account of the East, considered at the moment of republics being established in Greece, that it had reached the point of maturity, at which revolutions are inevitable; or at least the degree of knowledge and vice, which renders a nation more susceptible of being thrown into commotion by the political troubles of the states which surround it. Favoured by these internal causes, the influence of the republican revolution of Greece

upon Persia was direct, prompt and terrible; because she was determined to take up arms, in consequence of the events which I am about to describe.

We may remark that the principal effect of the French revolution on Germany, was produced by military views; but this empire, being in a different moral situation to that of Cyrus, had no occasion to dread similar evils. If you wish to predict the future, consider the past. It is a sure datum which will never deceive you, if you proceed upon one principle—morality.

Before I enter into a detail of the Median war and that of the revolution, I must say a few words upon the political situation of Persia and Germany, viewed a few moments previous to these great calamities.

It was during the reign of Darius, son of Hystaspes, that the famous Median war* began, of which we are about to retrace the history. This monarch appears to have combined in his person, the different qualities of the German emperors, Joseph and Leopold. Like the first he was a

* The Greeks only reckon the Median war from the invasion of Xerxes to the defeat of Mardonius at Platæa; but I shall comprehend, under that title, the entire period between the battle of Marathon, in the reign of Darius, and the general peace during that of Artaxerxes. I give notice that, in speaking of Persia and Germany together, I shall, to avoid prolixity, merely indicate the change of one empire to the other by this mark ———.

reformer and a warrior, like the second a legislator; and he had to combat nearly the same fortune as that of the two German princes.

The King of the Persians, on coming to his throne, effected a religious revolution. The Magi, who had till then governed the public opinion, and had seized on the supreme power, received a mortal blow from the hand of Darius. Not content with having precipitated them from the throne they had usurped, he attacked the very source of their influence, and by substituting one superstition for another, *viz.* the worship of the stars* for the ancient adoration of the sun, adroitly supplanted them in the hearts of the people.

This fact which, in considering the troubles of Greece, becomes extremely remarkable, and which is in itself a very great event, has hardly been noticed by writers in general. The consequences, however, were deeply felt. If the science of human nature remains the same at all times, and it is permitted to reason on the effect of the passions, according to our knowledge of these passions, it may be boldly conjectured that the insurrection of Babylon, and, perhaps, also that of Ionia, arose from these innovations, through causes at present

* It is believed to have been the second Zoroaster, who re-established the ancient worship of the sun. Now this Zoroaster lived under Darius himself; hence, the innovations of the latter only tended to disturb his states, without effecting the object he had in view.

impossible to be discovered.* Who knows to what extent they influenced the fate of arms during the Median war, and consequently the destiny of the Persians? These sacerdotal reforms of Darius and Joseph in their states, almost at the moment that monarchy was abolished in Greece and France, constitute a most interesting part of history.

The latter prince had scarcely been consecrated in his office, before the priests alarmed the towns of the Low Countries, by persuading them that he meant an attack upon their liberty, when his only object was to suppress some convents of useless monks. The revolt of Brabant was attended with most disastrous consequences. The people, subdued only by the force of arms, and cold in the cause of their rulers whom they considered as tyrants, were far from espousing the quarrel of the Allies, and offered themselves an easy prey to the French. Let us here notice the reaction of general justice. The Flemish clergy instigated the inhabitants of Brabant against their legitimate sovereigns, in order to save some part of the

* It is impossible that a religious order of the highest antiquity and which governed the people at its pleasure, should suffer itself to be destroyed and proscribed, without using all the resources of its power; and as Lucian informs us, that during his time the Magi existed in Persia, in all their glory, we must conclude that they gained a victory over Darius. Pliny and Arian too speak of the Magi as being all powerful under Xerxes, and of this prince himself as a sectary of the second Zoroaster.

immense riches belonging to the church. The republicans arrived and seized the whole.

A disastrous war desolated Persia—and ruined Germany. Darius had lost a fine army in his Scythian expedition.—The states of Joseph were exhausted to support his enterprise against the Turks. But here an essential difference occurs. The Persian troops, by marching through Thrace to the banks of the Ister, approached Greece.—The Austrian army, on the other hand, by falling upon Turkey, withdrew from the frontiers of France. This chance of position decided in some degree the success of the republican war; for when the emperors would by choice have declared against the republic, they were less prepared to do it, or the French themselves would not so suddenly have penetrated into Brabant. From other causes we have other effects.

Joseph died at Vienna, and was succeeded by his brother Leopold, Grand-Duke of Tuscany. The latter, having been accustomed to a less elevated situation and a less extended horizon, could not embrace the immensity of the prospect before him, when he had attained the higher regions. Nature had gifted him with that microscopic eye, which distinguishes particles of infinite minuteness; but which cannot comprehend the dimensions of grandeur and more noble objects. In some respects, however, he resembled Darius; viz. in a love of justice and a knowledge of the laws. But the Persian prince viewed his subjects

with the eye of a monarch, who directs mankind; and the German prince with that of a grazier, who watches over his herd of cattle. The one possessed the warmth and liberality of a chief, who gives what he possesses; the other the coldness and economy of one, who delights in counting his wealth.*

Such were the monarchs and such was the state of the two empires, when the republican revolutions of Greece and France produced the two wars connected with them. The causes of these we will now attempt to develope.

CHAP. XLI.

The Median War.—The Republican War.

THE different colonies, which the Greeks had founded on the coasts of Asia Minor, had gradually sunk under the sway of the kings of Lydia. The monarch of that country having been in his turn overthrown by Cyrus, the towns of Ionia were subjected to the yoke of Persia.†

* I judge by Leopold's book of *Tuscan Institutions*, printed in Italian, which I had sometime in my possession, as well as by what I learnt in Germany respecting this emperor; also by several conversations with Florentines, and finally from the general history of Europe at the period in question. Justice, however, obliges me to add that I have found, among the Germans, great admirers of Leopold's virtues.

† Under the general appellation of Ionia I comprehend Ionia properly speaking, *Æolia* and *Doris*.

They were, however, only acquainted with slavery by name. Their rulers left them their ancient popular government, and only required of them a slender tribute; but the inhabitants of these places were incapable of moderation, and knew no greater torment than repose. Enervated by luxury and voluptuousness, they had preserved none of the purity of their primitive manners, but felt a perpetual restless wish to plunge into revolutionary evils, without ever being sufficiently virtuous to reap the fruits of such a step.

The Greek-Asiatic colonies formed a body of republics governed by their own laws, under the protection of the court of Suza, like the federative states of the Low Countries under the German emperors. The former had several times endeavoured to emancipate themselves from the domination of Persia, without effecting their aim. In the nineteenth year of the reign of Darius, the people of Ionia rose together. The general motive for this insurrection was vague complaints of tyranny, the grand plea of the factious; and he who could say nothing else, vented, under figurative expressions, the ebullitions of hatred, envy, revenge, &c. never, however, using these exact words, though they constitute the true dictionary of revolutions.

—— Brabant, formerly a part of the duchy of Burgundy, having passed, after several successions, to the House of Austria, remained in pos-

session of its political privileges, forming a sort of republic subjected to a great empire.

The Flemish character, considered in a civil point of view, bore a striking resemblance to that of the Asiatic Greeks. Incapable of restraint, the inhabitants of the Low Countries incessantly tended towards insurrection, without any other reason than the impossibility of remaining quiet. The republic of the brewer Artavelle, the banishment of several of their Counts, the revolts under Charles the Bold, and the troubles under Philip II, sufficiently prove this truth. The innovations of Joseph were more than sufficient to rouse an impatient and superstitious people. The Low Countries were instantaneously in arms, and the Emperor of Germany perceived, when it was too late, that he had mistaken the genius of this people.

While these occurrences were passing in Ionia and Brabant, great scenes were opened in Greece and France. These two countries had risen in the name of liberty, had expelled their princes, and changed the form of their government. At the most fervent moment of this enthusiasm, the Athenians suddenly saw ambassadors arrive from revolted Ionia, who besought them to assist their fellow-citizens in the common cause of independence.—When Brabant was in a state of insurrection, it sent deputies to Paris, for the purpose of making the same application to the national assembly.

The impetuosity of Attica and France made them desirous to precipitate themselves at once into the contest, but the time for this was not come. The preparations were by no means in an advanced state, and some remains of fear still existed; besides, it was impossible, without renouncing all shame, to break through terms of peace with Persia—and with Germany, against which there was no cause of complaint. The deputies were, therefore, sent back with civil words, and pains were taken underhand to foment the disorders, in which it was not prudent as yet to take an active part.*

A pretext was not long wanting. Hippias, the last king of Athens, had retired to the court of Artaphernes, brother of Darius, and Satrap of Lydia.—The royal brothers of Louis XVI. had sought refuge at the court of Coblentz. — The Athenians immediately said that Darius favoured the tyrant, and that the latter was intriguing to excite hostilities against his country. Deputies were sent to Artaphernes, requiring that he should cease to protect the cause of Hippias.—The French re-

* We are forced to put this construction on the matter by the recital of Herodotus, who contradicts, however, the statements which he himself makes. He represents Aristagoras to have been at Athens towards the commencement of the second year of the Ionian revolt, and adds that he attained the object of his negotiation; yet the Athenians did not join the Asiatic Greeks with their fleet till the following year. Plutarch, in several parts of his writings, and Plato, in the third book of his *Laws*, confirms what I have here advanced.

quired that Leopold should prevent the assembling of emigrants in his states, and abandon the fugitive princes.—Artaphernes openly replied, that if the Athenians wished to conciliate the favour of the great king, they must re-establish the son of Pisistratus on the throne.—The Emperor of Germany appeared to obey the orders of the national assembly, while he, at the same time, secretly followed an opposite line of conduct.

—Darius complained that the Greeks supported the revolt of the Ionian cities, and arrogated to themselves the right of interfering with the internal government of his provinces;—almost in the same manner the German princes protested against the decrees of the national assembly, as a trespass upon their territory.

It was impossible that the parties should, in the midst of these mutual reproaches, long preserve the moderation, by which they affected to be guided. Both constantly avowed a desire to preserve peace, yet both secretly made preparations for war; both became more and more embittered against each other. Hippias, at the court of Suza, represented the Greeks as factious enemies of order and royalty.—The emigrants invoked the aid of Europe against the regicides, who had sworn eternal hatred to all thrones.—The Greeks and the French said that all ought to rise against tyrants who menaced the liberties of the people. Some cried out for republicanism, others for slavery. Insults were exchanged, and arms were

resorted to. The Athenians and patriots of France, gaining by their activity upon the phlegmatic slowness of the Orientalists and Germans, hastened to attack Persia*—and Germany. The first year of the sixty-ninth Olympiad, and the year 1792 of our era, witnessed the first hostilities of these two memorable wars. The Athenians attacked Asia Minor and burnt Sardes ; —the French attacked Brabant, where they signalized themselves in like manner by incendiary proceedings. Both were soon forced to an ignominious flight, and left behind them flames, which nothing but torrents of blood could extinguish.

The Persians, like the Austrians, were determined to inflict exemplary vengeance on their enemies. The former sent Datis at the head of ten thousand men, having under him the Athenian prince Hippias.—The latter advanced under the King of Prussia, conducting the brothers of Louis XVI.—The Asiatic army, after having seized several neighbouring islands belonging to Attica, made a victorious descent on Marathon.—The troops, allied against France, having obtained possession of several frontier places, deployed on the plains of Champagne.

The greatest confusion spread through Greece—and France. The partizans of royalty secretly

* I begin the Median war at the moment that the Athenians took an active part in the revolt of the Ionians. There had been then, however, no formal declaration of war; for that only occurred when Xerxes began his invasion.

rejoiced at the approach of foreign legions; while others, whose opinions varied according to the progress of events, began to find excuses for their past patriotism; and others still, who were friendly to liberty and elevated by the danger of circumstances, felt their courage increase in proportion to the misfortunes of their country, and experienced with this an indescribable sublimity of feeling which was a torment to their souls.

The name of Miltiades inspires immediate respect, not that we are dazzled with the renown of his victories, but because he rescued his country from servitude. The martial qualities of this famous man were activity and judgment. Knowing the character of his countrymen, he had no hesitation in precipitating them upon the Persians at Marathon, being aware that reflection was dangerous to their effervescent courage. The features of the Athenian general shone with his virtues, and shall I say, with his vices? A large forehead, a nose somewhat aquiline, and a close compressed mouth, with strong genius expressed in the whole countenance, proclaimed the formidable enemy of tyrants, but perhaps also the man a little inclined to be himself a tyrant.* The poniard of a Brutus may be easily forged into an iron sceptre for a Cæsar; and energetic souls, like

* See the different heads of Miltiades upon gems. I have formed the opinion above-mentioned from an excellent collection of impressions taken at Rome in 1666 from the originals.

volcanoes, throw around them great light and great darkness.

A diminutive form and small features, with a lively open air, concealed in Dumourier talents of no ordinary nature. He has been reproached with the versatility of his principles; but supposing the charge to be true, is he more culpable than his cotemporaries? We, who pretend to be Romans in this age of virtue—do we not hold our political habits in reserve for the moment at which the drama will begin, and cannot every one, who gives half a crown at the door, buy the pleasure of making us play in the *toga* or in livery, by turns a Cassius and a valet?

Animated by the noble confidence of Miltiades, the Athenians rushed into battle.—The French, led by Dumourier, marched in search of the combined army. The Persians and the Prussians remained incredibly inactive, and appeared to be paralyzed in their camps.* The latter, indeed, were soon obliged to fall back, abandoning their con-

* There were ten generals in the Athenian army, each of whom was to command in his turn, but they all yielded the honour to Miltiades. The latter, however, waited till the day arrived, on which he commanded by right, before he gave battle. The little Greek army, amounting to only ten thousand Athenians and one thousand Platæans, remained several days, in the presence of a hundred and ten thousand Persians, without the latter thinking of attacking them.—As to the King of Prussia, he indulged in the pious pleasure of reinstalling the Bishop of Verdun, and hearing the canons chaunt mass, to the great satisfaction of all the assistants in the ceremony.

quests, and the republicans immediately marched into Flanders. Marathon and Jemappe* have taught the world that the man who defends his fireside, and the enthusiast who fights in the cause of liberty, are most formidable enemies.

A calm of short duration succeeded these first storms. The Athenians and the French employed it in proving their ingratitude. Miltiades and Dumourier, having experienced some reverses, were accused of attachment to royalty and of having been corrupted by the gold of Persia and Austria. The former died in irons from the wounds which he had received in defending his country, and the latter only escaped death by flight.

Meanwhile the empire of the East and that of Germany had changed their rulers. Darius and Leopold† were no more. To these monarchs,

* These two battles, so similar as to their effects upon Greece and France, differ entirely with respect to circumstances. Ten thousand Athenians defeated a hundred and ten thousand Persians, and fifty thousand French had much trouble in forcing back ten thousand Austrians. The retreat of Clairfait, after the battle, has been reckoned a masterpiece of the military art. The Persians lost six thousand four hundred men, the Greeks a hundred and ninety-two. I have seen two patriot prisoners who were found at Jemappe, and who assured me that the French had twelve to fifteen thousand killed.—The battle of Marathon occurred on the 29th Sept. in the year 490 before Christ—that of Jemappe on the 9th Nov. 1792.

† Leopold did not witness the first campaign, for he died at Vienna on the very day that war was declared at Paris. But as this declaration was made in his name, I have not mentioned the

who were well acquainted with mankind and the art of government, succeeded their sons Xerxes and Francis. The young princes, thus placed at the helm of state in times of great commotion, were similar in point of fortune, but displayed much difference as to character. The King of the Persians had been reared in effeminacy, and was as pusillanimous as the Emperor of Germany, who had been bred in the camps of Joseph, was courageous.* They seem to have had only one characteristic in common, viz. obstinacy. Both had the misfortune also to be imposed upon by their enemies, who introduced themselves even into their councils.†

Being resolved on vigorously pursuing the war which his father had bequeathed with his crown,‡ Xerxes assembled his council, and there shewed

event sooner, because it would make no alteration in the truth of the occurrences, and would have broken the thread of the narrative.

* Francis gave great proofs of bravery in the war against the Turks, particularly one day, when having been led too far in pursuit of the enemy, he returned alone to the camp, where the greatest apprehensions were entertained respecting him. I had this fact from a colonel of hussars in the King of Prussia's guard.

† Themistocles several times caused advice to be given to Xerxes, particularly once before and once after the battle of Salamis.—It has been said that the cabinet of the Emperor of Germany was composed of persons entirely sold to France.

‡ Before the first invasion of Greece by the Persians under Darius, and the second under Xerxes, there occurs an interval of ten years, almost entirely employed in preparations for war.

the necessity of restoring the lustre of the Persian arms, which had been tarnished on the plains of Marathon. "I will go," said he; "I will cross the seas; I will rase the guilty city to the ground, and carry off its captive citizens in chains."—The allies held nearly the same language.

After such a declaration, nothing was thought of but immense preparations for the projected expedition. Couriers, charged with orders from the court of Suza, repaired to the provinces, for the purpose of hastening the march of the troops. At the same time a general league of all the states of Europe, Asia, and Africa, was formed against one small country—Greece. The Carthaginians, taking into their pay the Gauls, the Italians, and the Iberians, declared themselves, and signed a treaty of offensive alliance with the great king. Phœnicia and Egypt equipped their vessels for the coalition. Macedonia joined her forces to the rest. From his own states, properly speaking, Media and Persia, Xerxes derived experienced warriors. Babylonia, Arabia, Lydia, Thrace, and the different Satrapies furnished their contingent to the league, and an army of three millions assembled in the plain of Doriscus.

At the report of these threatening preparations, the provinces of Greece, whether from cowardice or feeling, ranged themselves on the side of strangers. Bœotia, Argolis, Thessaly, and several islands of the Ægean Sea, joined their efforts to those of the tyrants.

— Francis, on his part, made immense preparations. His states of Hungary, Bohemia, Lombardy, &c. supplied him with excellent soldiers. Prussia supported him with all her might. The circles of the Empire put their legions in motion. England, Holland, Spain, Sicily, Sardinia and Russia combined in the general league, and numerous armies advanced towards all the frontiers of France. La Vendée, the Lyonnois, and Languedoc were immediately in a state of insurrection; and the rising republic, thus attacked both within and without, appeared to be threatened with impending ruin.

A very small number of nations remained tranquil spectators of these great events. In the old world we only find Crete, Italy* and Scythia—in modern times, Denmark, Sweden, Switzerland and some other republics. Neither the Greeks nor the French had allies at the beginning of the war. Their arms afterwards procured them.

In order that the reader may survey this interesting spectacle at a single glance of the eye, I annex two tables, and have ranged in two corresponding columns the allies of the Median and republican wars, the nations opposed to each other, the conquered provinces, the dates of battles, and of any partial peace, &c. &c.

* Italy had also troops in the pay of Carthage.

T A B L E

OF THE
NATIONS ALLIED AGAINST GREECE
IN
THE MEDIAN WAR.

CONTINENTAL POWERS.

*States properly belonging to the
King of the Persians.*

Persia.

Media.

Babylonia.

Satrapies of Persia.

Lydia.

Armenia.

Pamphylia, &c.

Allies.

Several Arabian Nations.

Several Kings of Thrace.

Macedonia.

Maritime Powers.

Carthage.

Tyre.

Egypt.

Ionia.

Revolted Provinces.

Bœotia.

Argoles.

Several Islands of the Ægean Sea.

Emigrant Greeks.

Hippias, Prince of Athens, &c.

Neutral Nations.

The Scythians.

The Nations of Italy.

The Thessalians.

The Cretans.

And some others.

*Battles, Times of making separate
Peace, Conquests, and general
Peace.*

A. J. C.
Years.

The Greeks ravaged Lydia and
were repulsed 504

Battle of Marathon, 29 Sept. . . 490

General Coalition 485
and the following years.

Invasion of the Persians 480

Battle of Thermopylæ, Aug. . . 480

Battle of Salamis, 20 Oct. 480

Carthage made peace during the
same year —

Battle of Plataea and Mycale,
19 Sept. 479

Bœotia plundered by the Greeks.
the same year —

Macedonia and several Islands
of the Ægean Sea made peace
with the Greeks 479
and the following years.

Conquests, Depredations, and
Tyranny of the Greeks the
same year —

Lycia and Caria forced by them
to declare war against the
Persians 470

Thrace subjugated 469
and the following years.

Invasion of Egypt by the Greeks 462
They are destroyed there. 462

and the following years.
General Peace 449

As far as can be judged from the
different accounts of the battles,
about ten millions of men perished
by arms during the war of the Per-
sians and Greeks.

The Greeks had no Ally at the
commencement of the war.

T A B L E

OF THE
NATIONS ALLIED AGAINST FRANCE
IN
THE REPUBLICAN WAR.

CONTINENTAL POWERS.

GERMANY.

*States properly belonging to the
Emperor.*

Hungary.

Bohemia.

Austria.

Brabant.

Lombardy, &c.

Circles of the Empire.

Bavaria.

Saxony.

The Electorates of Treves, Hanover,
&c.

Allies.

Russia.

The Princes of Italy.

Spain.

Prussia.

Maritime Powers.

England.

Holland.

Revolted Provinces.

La Vendée.

Morbihan.

Lyonnois.

Provence.

And some other departments.

French Emigrants.

The Bourbons, &c.

Neutral Nations.

Switzerland.

Denmark.

Sweden.

The Hanse Towns.

The United States of America.

The French had no Ally at the
commencement of the war.

*Battles, Times of separate Peace,
and different Conquests.*

Of our era Years.

The French attempt the Invasion
of Brabant, and are repulsed

29 April 1792

Battle of Jemappe, 17 Nov. —

General Coalition, Feb. and Mar. 1793

Invasion of the Austrians, April —

Battle of Maubeuge, 17 Oct. ... —

La Vendée ravaged by the French,
October. —

Battle of Fleurus, 29 June. ... 1794

Conquests, Depredations, &c. —

Tyranny of the French, Sept. Oct. —

The King of Prussia makes Peace

5 April 1795

The Kings of Spain and Sardi-
nia are compelled to treat
on the 28 June, &c. —

The former, about a year after
making Peace, is forced to de-
clare war against the Allies.

Invasion of Italy by the French 1796

Invasion of Germany, June. ... —

The French are destroyed there —

Overture for a general Peace

Dec. —

About a million of men perished
by arms on the frontiers, in La
Vendée and elsewhere. I make this
calculation, which may appear mo-
derate, from the official reports of
the different battles, and the *Mé-
moires sur la Vendée*, by General
Tureau.

Every thing being arranged for the meditated invasion, Xerxes raised his camp, and advanced towards Attica, followed by his innumerable cohorts.*—The Prince of Cobourg, commander in chief of the combined forces, marched in like manner against France. In the grand armies of Persia and Austria a crowd of princes equally served, Alexander, Artemisius, the Kings of Cilicia, Tyre and Sidon,—the Duke of York, the Prince of Orange, Saxony, &c. The troops opposed to them were of a very different description. Obscure citizens, whose very names had been till now unknown, commanded other citizens their equals in poverty and birth. I will not introduce portraits of Themistocles and Aristides, who saved Greece at the time now spoken of. If I could have opposed to them men of the present day, I should not have written this essay.

Every thing yielded at first to the energy of the Allies. Thermopylæ, Thebes, Plataea, Thespiæ were taken by the Persians—Valenciennes, Condé, Le Quesnoi, by the Austrians. Nothing remained to be done by the former but to march on Attica;—by the latter, but to penetrate into France. The disorder, consternation and despair, which prevailed at Athens and Paris, are not to be described. The frontiers were forced, strangers

* He had passed the Hellespont at the beginning of spring in the year 480 before Christ. He remained more than a month at Doriscus; so that he might resume his march towards the end of May.

were on the point of making their way to the very heart of the state, several provinces were in a state of insurrection, and all appeared to be inevitably lost. To complete the sum of evils, a fatal division of opinions prevailed among the patriots, and clouded even the small remaining ray of hope. The death of Hippias at Marathon,—and the capture of Valenciennes in the name of the Emperor, no longer left the royalists of Greece and France in doubt as to the intentions of the Allied Powers. All the citizens, therefore, agreed on the necessity of defence, but none of them understood how it was to be effected. The Lacedæmonians were of opinion that they should shut themselves up in the Peloponnesus; part of the Athenians wished to defend their city by land, and another part that all should be confided to the navy. The ambition of individuals was most mischievous, and men without talents aimed at offices, to which those of the greatest abilities were scarcely adequate. Themistocles prevailed against his rivals, induced the citizens to man their galleys and saved the country.—In France opinions were still more divided. Every head gave birth to a project, and wished to enforce the adoption of it by others. Some could see no safety but in fortified places; others talked of retiring into the interior; a still greater number wished the republic to fall *en masse* upon the Allies. This last plan appeared the best, and its adoption secured victory.

In the mean time, differences of opinion, not

less fatal to their cause, struck the conquering armies with imbecillity and weakness. Xerxes, alarmed by the battle of Thermopylæ, was uncertain what line of conduct to adopt. He learnt that part of Greece had quietly sat at the Olympic Games,* while he was laying waste their country, and knew not what to think of it. In his council, the King of Sidon declared himself in favour of an immediate attack upon the Athenian galleys. Artemisius, on the contrary, maintained that by lengthening out the war the enemy would be infallibly ruined.—Among the Austrians and their Allies, several contended that the frontier towns should be seized; the Duke of York joined those who advised a march to the capital. The sentiments of the Queen of Halicarnassus and those of the English prince were rejected, and the opposite suggestions adopted. Thus, by that destiny which disposes of empires, the Greeks and French chose, from the different measures deliberated upon, those alone which could save them; the Persians and Austrians those which were certain to defeat their object.

Xerxes now prepared for the celebrated action of Salamis.—The Prince of Cobourg divided his

* Like the French at their festivals in the capital, while the Prince of Cobourg took Valenciennes. This by no means invalidates what I said above, and is founded on historical truth. It was the characteristic of the Greeks, as it is of the French, to be plunged in distress during the early part of the day, go to the play in the evening, and sink into despair again on coming out of the theatre.

forces, blockaded Maubeuge, and sent the English to attack Dunkirk.—In the allied fleet of the Greeks occurred those great events which history records, and which only happen at very distant intervals. The sentiments of the commanders were divided. The Spartans, always obstinate in maintaining their opinions, wished to abandon the district of Salamis, and fall back upon the coast of Peloponnesus. This measure, by which the country would have been lost, Themistocles opposed with his utmost efforts. A general, who was enraged, held his cane over the Athenian. “Strike, but listen,” cried the great man to him, and this magnanimity won Eurybiades to his opinion.

The night before the battle of Salamis was dark. The hearts of those, who were on board the little Grecian fleet, were agitated by all that is dear to man; under a load of uneasiness, wishes, fears and hopes, they beat for liberty, love, friendship and their country. No eye was closed during the night that preceded such a crisis, but every one silently contemplated the fires on board of the hostile fleet. Suddenly a boat was heard gliding through the stilly gloom. It stopped at Salamis, and a man appeared before Themistocles. “Do you know,” said he, “that you are hemmed in, and that the Persians are passing round the island to cut off your retreat?” “I do know it,” answered the Athenian general, “it is done by my ad-

vice."* Aristides admired Themistocles, and the latter acknowledged the merits of the justest man in Greece.

— The day previous to the attack on the Austrians by Jourdan before Maubeuge, was a day of fear and anxiety. Till that time the victorious Allies had encountered no obstacle, and the French troops were so discouraged that they could scarcely be persuaded to fight. The safety of France depended upon the besieged fortress; for when this place fell, it drew after it many others; and the Allies, reuniting the forces which they had been so imprudent as to divide, penetrated without opposition into the interior of the country. It became necessary, therefore, to seize the moment, and make a final effort to snatch the country from the hands of strangers, or perish under its ruins.

Jourdan, the French general, entrusted with this important expedition, is a frigid soldier, whose talents are more solid than brilliant, and who has never been crowned with success, except in this action, and that of Fleurus. Every thing being prepared for attack, the warrior passed the night

* The Greeks being ready to withdraw, Themistocles gave notice of this to Xerxes, who hastened to intercept the passage by which the hostile fleet might else escape. The Greeks were therefore compelled to fight in this favourable place, by which they obtained the victory. Aristides, as he passed by Salamis, perceived the movement of the Persian galleys to surround those of Eurybiades, and being ignorant of the stratagem of Themistocles, gave him notice of the danger.

under arms, waiting, with greater fears than hopes, the result of the coming day.

On the part of the Allies all was merriment and confidence. Xerxes was seated on an elevated throne that he might behold his triumph, and stationed troops in the adjacent islands, that not a Greek who was saved from the destruction of the fleet might elude his vengeance.—So certain were the nations allied against France of victory, that the capture of Maubeuge and Dunkirk were every moment announced.

— Between the eastern coast of the island of Salamis,* and the western shore of Attica is a narrow strait, about forty stadia † long and eight ‡ broad. The extremity of this strait is almost closed by the Trophœan promontory, which juts into the waves in the form of a lance. The first line of the Greek galleys extended from this point to Port Phoron, which corresponds with it on the coast of the opposite continent. The second line, which was parallel with the first, was stationed immediately behind it, and the rest similarly in succession, that is to say, more and more up the strait.

The first line of the Persian galleys faced that of the Greeks in the form of a crescent, from the same Trophœan point to Port Phoron, and the rest were ranged behind without the strait. By this

* The want of charts is here sensibly felt.

† About two leagues.

‡ Rather more than the third of a league.

disposition the Persians not only lost the advantage of their numbers, but caused their order of battle to be broken by the little island Psyttalia, which lies somewhat below the mouth of the channel.

The Phœnicians were stationed on the right wing of the Persian armament, having the Athenians opposed to them. On the left wing were the Ionians, in front of whom were the Lacedæmonians, Megarians, and Eginetes. Ariabignes * had the general command of the Median galleys, and Eurybiades that of the Greek fleet.

— The Austrians, after having taken Valenciennes, advanced on Maubeuge, and instantly blockaded it. The Prince of Cobourg, with an army of observation, covered the troops which prepared to besiege the fortress.

— Xerxes having given the signal for battle, the Athenians impetuously attacked the Phœnicians. The combat was obstinate, and maintained for a long time with equal valour; but at length the Persian admiral Ariabignes having assailed a hostile galley, fell covered with wounds. The confusion caused by this, which was increased by the multitude of vessels rendered useless from the local situation they were in, became general among the Medes. All fled before the victorious Greeks; and the countless fleet of the great king, which a

* It does not appear, from the accounts of Herodotus and Diodorus, that there was any admiral who commanded in chief over the Persian fleet; but Ariabignes, the brother of Xerxes, appears to have been the principal officer.

moment before darkened the sea, disappeared by the irresistible energy of a free people.

— At Maubeuge the French recovered that brilliant courage which they had lost since the battle of Jemappe. They rushed against the ranks of the enemy with an impetuosity which distinguishes their first charge from that of any other nation. Ditches, cannon, bayonets, mountains, rivers, marshes—all ceased to be impediments to their progress. They were in a thousand places at a time. They multiplied like the warriors of the earth. They sprung over one obstruction, climbed to the top of another, and flew forward with the speed of lightning. You saw them just now in the plain—behold they are on the heights of the intrenchment—have taken them!

The Austrians sustained the shock with their accustomed valour. These brave soldiers, whom no reverses can depress, who were defeated during twenty successive years, and fought during the twentieth as nobly as the first, every where repulsed their numerous assailants; but the Prince of Cobourg, thinking longer resistance useless, abandoned his position, and Maubeuge was delivered. Soon afterwards a column, commanded by Houchard, obliged the English to raise the siege of Dunkirk, and all hopes of conquest vanished for this year.

It was thus that the Persian fleet, composed of different nations—and the Austrian army, in like manner, consisting partly of allies, some of whom

were traitors, others pusillanimous, and others afraid of the success which would reflect too much honour upon a particular general or a particular nation, were destroyed at Salamis and Maubeuge. The great king repassed, as a fugitive, in a small bark, the very sea which he had vowed to subject ; and the Prince of Cobourg retired with his troops into winter quarters. All parties, while thus awaiting the future events of a new campaign, had time to meditate on the fickleness of fortune, and to deplore their folly.

It must not, however, be supposed that the dangers, which threatened Greece and France, were at an end. Xerxes, in leaving behind him an army of three hundred thousand picked men, did more for his cause than he had done by dragging thither three millions of slaves.—The check, which the Allies received at the fortified towns, was only a slight reverse, which might even have eventually proved advantageous to them by teaching an useful lesson. The return of the year was thus awaited on both sides, with a view to a recommencement of determined hostilities ; but before we enter into a detail of that campaign we will say a few words as to the leaders who distinguished themselves.

Mardonius, who commanded the Persian troops dwelling in Greece, was a satrap of high rank, and related by blood to his rulers. His ambition was too immense for his abilities, and rendered him one of those disproportionate beings, who ap-

pear great because they are deformed. Vain, impatient and haughty in his nature, he possessed only the brutal courage of a grenadier, who inflicts death without pity, and receives it without fear.

— The Prince of Cobourg, who was at the head of the troops allied against France, was of still more illustrious birth than Mardonius, and surpassed him also in personal qualifications. At once brave and prudent, he united military talent with military virtue, the science of the general with the loyalty of the soldier.

— Pausanias was one of the royal family of Lacedæmon, and commander in chief of the Greek allied army. He was a man full of defiance and lofty words, ever ready to extol his own great services, and to betray his country. He saved it at the battle of Plataea, and sold it some months afterwards to the tyrant of Suza. *

— Pichegru, whose plebeian name, humble fortune and modesty, formed a strong contrast with the splendour of his renown, led the French to battle. This extraordinary man, who was bred by the revolution, elevated himself from an inferior class of society to the most brilliant situation of his country, and descended again, with no less greatness, into the shade of his first condition, to perish the victim of devotion to his king.

* Being condemned to death at Sparta, he retired to a temple. The Lacedæmonians built a wall against the gates, and their king perished.

Finally, there was in the Persian army a man called Alexander, king of Macedonia, who was a traitor to both parties, which he well knew how to manage, and who made a traffic of his honour and conscience, selling them to the richest or to the strongest. Before the battle of Thermopylæ, he gave notice to the Greeks of the danger attendant on their position in the valley of Tempe, and marched with Xerxes to Salamis. After the defeat of the Eastern monarch, he called himself the friend of the Athenians, and invited them, for the sake of humanity, to submit to the tyrant of Asia. In the field of Platæa he accompanied Mardonius, betrayed that general in order to secure himself a resource if defeated, and told Pausanias in person that the Medes would make an attack on the following day. The Greeks, in spite of their hatred for kings, had a contemptuous species of respect for Alexander, because they could make use of his low venality when they found occasion for it.—

I will not speak at all of Frederick William II.

Such were the generals who commanded in the memorable campaigns which we are tracing. At the return of the season favourable for arms, the Persians and Austrians took the field with renovated vigour. Mardonius a second time ravaged Attica—and the Prince of Cobourg, on his part, carried Landrecies, besides obtaining several other advantages. But fortune soon changed her aspect. Pausanias avoided a battle in the plain,

and drew his enemies to a position which was unfavourable to them.—Pichegru, by invading maritime Flanders, obliged the Allies to abandon their conquest. After multiplied marches and actions, the grand armies of Persia and Greece—France and Austria—met at the place appointed for the fulfilment of their destiny.

The ordinary motive for wars is so despicable, that the account of a battle, in which twenty thousand ferocious monsters mangled each other for the gratification of a single man's passions, is disgusting and fatiguing; but when citizens are seen charging a horde of conquerors, with chains or political annihilation by dismemberment on one side, and liberty and a rescued country on the other; if any grand spectacle was ever worthy of attracting the attention of mankind, it is surely this. Such a spectacle was to be seen at Plataea and Fleurus, but with very different degrees of interest. The French, destitute of morality, and loaded with revolutionary guilt, by no means supply the same affecting picture as the poor and innocent Greeks, who were, besides, much more exposed than the former. Athens no longer existed. One sacred camp inclosed all that remained of their sons, fathers, gods and country. All countries were parched by the sterile breath of slavery, and none promised independent existence in case of defeat. But the heroes of Plataea embarrassed themselves little as to the future. They were ready to make the sacrifice of their last blood

to Jupiter the Liberator. What need had they to inquire whether they might live as slaves to-morrow, when they were sure of dying free to-day?

In the midst of the city of Thebes in Bæotia, there was a large plain, crossed at its southern extremity by the Asopus, which directs its course from west to east, inclining one degree northward. The plain continues on the other side of the river, and terminates at the foot of Mount Citheron, thus forming, between the river and the mountain, a defile about twelve stadia, or eleven hundred fathoms wide, and this only at the widest part.

The Persians occupied the left bank of the Asopus with three hundred and fifty thousand men. They deployed their numerous cavalry in the plain, having intrenchments in their front, and Thebes with an open country in their rear. The combined troops of the Lacedæmonians, the Athenians and others, consisted of a hundred and ten thousand infantry, which were encamped on the steep side of Citheron. Not far off and upon the same line lay the little town of Plataea, half way between which and the Greeks was the fountain of Gargaphie.

Asopus, therefore, divided the hostile armies, and two movements took place before the general action.

Pausanias, being in want of water at his first station, caused his troops to march by the defile above-mentioned, and took another position near

the fountain of Gargaphie. The Persians made a similar movement on the opposite bank of the river. The Lacedæmonian general, being uneasy at this, marched a second time with the design of seizing an island, which is formed in the west by two branches of the Asopus; but scarcely had he reached Plataea, when Mardonius, having crossed the river, fell upon him with all his cavalry. It became necessary for him to form his troops directly. The Lacedæmonians, who constituted the right wing, found themselves opposed to the Persians and natives of Sacæ. The Athenians, on the left wing, had before them the Greek allies of Xerxes. The centre of the army, being broken by the hills, could not come into action.

— Charleroi was taken by the French, but the Austrians were as yet ignorant of this. The Prince of Cobourg being determined to relieve the place, and having received, on the preceding evening, a reinforcement of twenty thousand Prussians, advanced on the 26th June, at three o'clock in the morning, upon the Sambre. His army amounted to a hundred thousand men. The right was commanded by the Prince of Orange; the left, which was composed of Dutchmen and Emigrants, by Beaulieu; and Prince Lambesc was at the head of the cavalry. The French army was composed of the united armies of the Moselle, the Ardennes, and the North. Jourdan was the commander in chief.

The 3d of Boedromion,* in the 2d year of the 75th Olympiad, and the 12th of Messidor, in the 3d year of the republic,† were the days, destined by Him who disposes of empires, to overturn the projects of ambition and astonish mankind.

The mute combats of the ancients, during which at intervals lengthened howlings broke through the silence of death, were perhaps as formidable as our modern battles, heightened as they are by the thundering effects of gunpowder. The peasant of Citheron, and the one that dwelt on the banks of the Sambre, might contemplate their different horrors, and thank Heaven that they were born within a thatched roof. Plataea and Fleurus displayed all the warlike virtues. The Persian, exposed under a frail buckler to the arms of the Lacedæmonians, intrepidly broke with his hands the lance that pierced him.—The Hungarian grenadier felled with the butt end of his musket the French who multiplied around him.‡—The Athenians could scarcely subdue their countrymen who fought in the ranks of the enemy.—The Emigrants opposed invincible courage to the

* The 19th of September, 479 before Christ.

† The 20th June, 1794. I use the dates of the revolutionary calendar, in order to preserve the truth of colouring.

‡ This feature of the battle of Fleurus, which has been related to me by officers who were present, occurred several times during the republican war, particularly at Jemappe, where the Hungarian grenadiers, being in want of cartridges, furiously felled the French, who were scaling the fortifications.

troops of Robespierre.—Fortune at last declared herself. Mardonius fell in the front rank, upon which his men gave way, and were pursued to their camp, where they were destroyed.—The Prince of Cobourg was forming his troops again under the fire of the enemy, for the purpose of returning to the charge, when he learnt that Charleroi had capitulated, and caused a retreat to be sounded.—Two hundred thousand Persians fell at Plataea*—a multitude of Austrians and French at Fleurus. The Greeks and the French too lost their virtues in the same field that they gained the laurels of victory.

From this moment an ambition to make conquests and a love of gain succeeded to the enthusiasm of liberty. The Greeks, led by other generals not less celebrated than their predecessors,† overran the shores of Asia, Africa and Europe, burning, pillaging and destroying every thing in their way, levying forced contributions, and main-

* Artabazes led from the field forty thousand men. Of the fifty thousand Greek auxiliaries, who were not in the fight, except the Bœotians, I suppose that forty thousand escaped. All the rest of the army, with the exception of three thousand men, perished, as historians inform us. This army consisted originally of three hundred and fifty thousand men, or if we believe Diodorus, of six hundred thousand; so that my calculation is moderate. It is certain that battles were infinitely more destructive before the invention of gunpowder.

† The other generals, here alluded to, were Cimon, who conquered the peninsula of Thrace, Myronides, who seized upon Phocis and Bœotia, &c.

taining their armies at discretion among conquered nations.—I need not recall to the reader's memory the requisitions, spoliation of churches, and other dreadful proceedings in Italy, nor the ravages of the French in Brabant, Germany, Holland, &c.—I have stated elsewhere what were the consequences of such proceedings to Greece. The fickle and cruel people of Athens, who most distinguished themselves in these culpable excesses, first drew on themselves the attack of the Allies, and finally sunk in the Peloponnesian war.

Thirty years intervened between the battle of Plataea and the general peace; but during this interval the different Allies had partially treated with the conqueror. The Carthaginians were the first,* the Macedonians followed, and then † the neighbouring islands, as well as different states. Some redeemed themselves by means of money, ‡ others were obliged to declare against the Persians.§—This reminds us of Prussia, Spain, and the petty princes of Italy and Germany.—At length Artaxerxes, || who was weary of an useless war, demeaned himself so much as to apply for peace in the language of supplication, and his enemies dictated to him the following conditions:

* In the year 480 before Christ.

† Probably after the battle of Plataea and the complete defeat of the Persians in the year 479 before Christ.

‡ Such as Thasos, Scyros, &c.

§ The cities of Caria and Lycia.

|| He succeeded Xerxes when the latter was assassinated.

1st. That his armed gallies should not navigate the seas of Greece. 2dly. That his troops should never approach within three days' march of the coast of Asia Minor; and 3dly. That the Ionian cities should be declared independent. As the Persians had been foolish enough to begin the war, they ought to have nobly maintained it, if it had been for no other purpose but to obtain less ignominious conditions. This treaty of Artaxerxes was the mortal blow which delivered the empire of Cyrus to Alexander. It happened to the great king, as to several sovereigns of modern Europe; he made, from lassitude, a disgraceful peace at the moment that he might have dictated one as a conqueror. The Greeks were then no longer the Greeks of Plataea. Nothing was talked of at Athens but the conquest of Egypt, Carthage and Sicily. To aggrandise the republic, and to bring all potentates in chains to their feet, was the only idea which occupied the minds of the Athenians. — In like manner we have seen the French no longer know where to fix the limits of their empire. The Rhine at one time appeared to be too confined a boundary.—When Athens flattered itself with notions of conquering the world, the day, on which it was to be delivered to Lysander, was at hand.

Thus passed the terrible scourge which the republican revolution of Greece had produced. It extended its ravages through a period of forty-one

years, viz. from the first invasion of the Persians,* under Darius, in the year 490, before our era, to the treaty of peace under Artaxerxes, in the year 449 of the same chronology. Never did a war (unless it was the modern revolutionary one) begin under more flattering auspices, and terminate with greater disasters.

CHAP. XLII.

Great Difference between our Age and that in which the Republican Revolution of Greece took place.

AFTER having examined the resemblances between the republican revolution of Greece and that of France, we cannot, without partiality, omit to consider their dissimilarities. We do not attempt to take the minds of our readers by surprise and direct their opinions. We wish to expel from this work all spirit of system, and candidly to state the truth.

It is with bodies politic as with celestial bodies. They act and react one upon another, in proportion to their distance and gravity. If the least accident deranges the smallest of the satellites, the harmony of the whole is destroyed; the bodies clash together, and a state of chaos succeeds to

* What I call the first invasion was in reality the second; Mardonius having made a prior attempt, without success, before Datis.

universal order; till all these masses, after a thousand destructive shocks, begin again to describe their regular motions in a new system.

A small city of Greece banished a tyrant, and the concussion was immediately felt at the extremities of Europe and Asia. A thousand nations burst their chains asunder, or sunk into slavery. The throne of Cyrus was shaken, and the germ of all future disturbances unfolded itself. Every revolution is at the same time the consequence and origin of another; so much so that it would be perfectly true if we were to describe the first revolution in the world as having produced that of France in our days.

Does any one wish to convince himself of this fatality by which every thing is regulated, so that if you tread upon an insect crawling in the dust, you overturn a world? Suppose, for a moment, that the most frivolous occurrence had happened otherwise at Athens than it really did happen, that there had existed one man less, or that this man had not occupied the same station; for instance, the counsel of Epycides prevailing against that of Themistocles, Xerxes would have reduced Greece to slavery. This would have been destruction to the doctrines of Socrates, Plato and Aristotle; the crafty Philip would have grown old beneath the lash of his ruler; Alexander would have died in the buskin, or perhaps upon the Tyrian cross as a brigand; other chances would have ensued; other states would have become conspicuous;

the Romans would have had to contend with other obstacles, and the universe would have been changed.

If we cast our eyes towards the state of mankind at the time that popular governments were established in Sparta and Athens, and on the condition of the people at the period that royalty was abolished in France, we are struck with a considerable difference. At the moment of the Greek revolution, all, or nearly all countries were republics; at the time the French revolution took place, all, or almost all were monarchies. In the first case, popular governments acted upon similar constitutions; in the other they clashed with royal constitutions. Now the more heterogeneous the matter of which bodies are formed that come into collision, the more rapid is the inflammation; hence it is natural to expect that the revolutionary movements of France would, in their effects, infinitely surpass those produced by the disturbances in Greece. But let us advance nothing without proof.

Where was the greatest concussion felt at the period of the troubles in the latter country? In Persia. And why? Because it was there that the republican principles caused the most violent shock. But this opens to us another disparity.

The Persian bondman became the prey of the Greek citizen. How did ancient republics maintain themselves? By slaves. How did our uncivilized forefathers live so free? By slaves. It

is indeed impossible to comprehend upon what principle a true democracy can be established without slaves ; so that our modern systems, in fact, exclude all republics among us. I am astonished that the French, who so closely copied antiquity, did not reduce the nations, whom they conquered, to slavery. It is the only method of obtaining what is called civil liberty.

There are then two fundamental differences in the two ages ; the one in the government, and the other in morals. But are there not, in the fortuitous course of events, circumstances which determine, defeat, accelerate or retard the effect of this or that event ? We will examine the point.

Most of the states, contemporaneous with the Athenians and Spartans, were remoté from these celebrated nations. Through what channel did the learning of this little corner of the world find its way over the globe ? Did the Greeks themselves care about communicating this learning ? The ancients were attached to their country ; they lived and died on the soil which they knew how to cultivate, and defend with hands that were free ; and they scarcely kept up any connection with each other. Speaking, as they did, different dialects, having no assistance from the establishment of posts, having no great roads, and being ignorant as to the art of printing, each nation lived as if isolated. At that time a discovery in morals, policy, or any other science, perished in the place which gave it birth, or be-

came the prey of a small number of men, who had often too great an interest in concealing it from the rest of the world. The people too, from national prejudice and a love of their respective countries, carefully kept their knowledge and happiness in their own territory. The universal fraternity, professed by the republicans of France, was not the sterling coin of high antiquity.

The dissimilarity of the ages appears, in this respect, with its full force. Our couriers, our public roads and our press have rendered almost all Europeans citizens of the same country. When a new idea or interesting discovery has originated in London or Paris, it reaches, in a few weeks, the peasant on the Danube, the inhabitant of Rome, the subject at Petersburg, and the slave at Constantinople, who appropriate it to themselves, comment upon it, and draw their advantage from it in good or evil. The ancients seldom visited foreign countries, because the difficulties of travelling were almost insurmountable. In our days a voyage to Russia, Germany, Italy, France, and England, nay, round the world, is only an affair of a few weeks, or months, or years, calculated almost to a minute. Hence it results that the diversity of languages, which constituted, in ancient times, another obstacle to the propagation of knowledge, is no longer one, foreign idioms being reciprocally understood by all nations.

When a revolution took place in the old world, scarce books and works of art disappeared. Bar-

barism again submerged the earth, and the men, who survived this deluge, were obliged, like the first inhabitants of the globe, to begin a new career, and slowly retrace all the footsteps of their predecessors. The extinguished torch of science no longer found any body of light, at which it could be reilluminated. It was necessary to wait till the genius of some great man communicated new fire to it, like the sacred lamp of Vesta, which could only be relighted by the flame of the sun if once extinguished. It is not the same with us; for in fact it is impossible to calculate what height society may attain, now that nothing is or can be lost. This leads us to infinity.

I seem then to destroy, in this chapter, what I have advanced in the preceding ones; for I point out such a difference in the ages, that no conclusion can be deduced from one to bear upon the other? Doubtless such may appear to be the case in the opinion of some readers, who are dazzled with the system of perfection. If this were a proper place to enter into the interesting discussion, I could easily prove that our situation is actually the same, with regard to results, as that of the ancients, and that we have lost in morals what we have gained in knowledge. These seem so disposed by nature, that the one is always corrupted in proportion to the increase of the other, as if this balance were destined to prevent perfection among mankind. It is certain that knowledge does not impart virtue, and that a great moralist

may be a dishonest man. The question of happiness remains, therefore, the same for modern as for ancient nations, because it is only to be found in purity of soul ; and we arrive at the same issue as to the happy consequences to be hoped for from the French revolution, whatever may be, in other respects, our enlightened state of mind ; for this does not operate upon the heart. Who shall teach us, by words or science, the secret of altering the nature of the soul, and rooting out the vexations which choke it up ? If man, in spite of philosophy, be condemned to live with his desires, he will for ever be a slave, forever the man of those adverse times which are past, of those lamentable days which are present, and those future ages of misery which are coming on. If the Almighty Being, who holds in his hand the hearts of men, has chosen, in the profound course of his wisdom, to close this organ of their felicity, what matters it that he has, to confound them, raised their gigantic heads above the rolling spheres ? If the heart cannot attain perfection, if morality remains corrupt in spite of knowledge, adieu to an universal republic, adieu to the fraternity of nations, a general peace, and the brilliant phantom of durable happiness on earth.

If the immediate influence of the republican revolution in Greece was retarded by all the causes which we have assigned, the French revolution, being freed from these obstacles, would have an effect far more rapid in case it had not met with

opposing powers, stronger than the velocity of its own action. This is not the place to enter into an examination of such a subject; but it may be doubted whether the extinction of royalty in France has produced for the human race greater and more durable effects than those which resulted from the abolition of monarchy in Greece. Attica on being restored to liberty, abounded in works of art. Praxiteles, Phidias, Xeuxis and Apelles, united the efforts of their genius with those of Sophocles and Euripides. The knowledge, which had been disseminated through different parts of the world, was concentrated in this common focus, from which divers nations afterwards borrowed it. But for Greece, Rome would have remained in a state of barbarism. The eloquence of Demosthenes contained the germ of that of Cicero. The sublimity of a Homer, the simplicity of a Hesiod, and the graces of a Theocritus, were necessary to form the triple genius of a Virgil. The wolves of Phædrus would never have spoken like men, if those of Æsop had been dumb; and we, the gross Celtes of the forest, should have had neither Racine, Boileau, Montesquieu, Pope, Dryden, Sidney, Bacon, nor a thousand others, but should have been still, like our ancestors, subjected to the Druids, or to tyrants.

Happy would it have been if the Greeks, when they acquired knowledge, had not lost their purity of morals, and exchanged the virtues which preserved them from Xerxes, for the vices which

subjected them to Philip. We shall often pass thus, in the course of the present work, from light to darkness, and from the happiness of the human race to its misery. And why should we complain of this? It is probable that our felicity has been calculated on the inconstancy of our desires; the quantity of happiness that we are to enjoy has been measured, because our hearts are insatiable. Nature treats us like sick infants, whose appetites we refuse to gratify, but whose tears we dry by illusion and hope. She causes a multitude of phantoms to dance around us, towards which we stretch forth our arms without being able to reach them; and she has carried the art of perspective so far, that she has painted Elysium at the very bottom of the tomb.

Thus I have shewn the immediate action of the republican revolution in Attica upon Persia. It caused the nations, subjected to that empire, to rise from the impetus of public opinion, and involved it in a disastrous war, which cost the lives of millions, without mankind gaining more happiness or more liberty. It is true that the court of Suza was humiliated; but was Greece the happier for this? Did not her success corrupt her, and were not the results of actions apparently so glorious, vice and chains?

As to the remote effect produced on the empire of Cyrus by the fall of royalty at Athens, there is no one who is ignorant of the conquest of Asia and the name of Alexander.

Let us endeavour to recapitulate, in few words, the different influence which the establishment of popular governments in Greece had on cotemporaneous nations. From the sum of these results, we shall obtain the truths, which form the object of our researches in this Essay.

The republican revolution of Greece acted on

Egypt

with regard to arms. It caused there some transient evils, but it could not take hold of public opinion, because the subdivision of classes in society, and the theocratic system opposed insurmountable obstacles to it.

Carthage

felt its influence also in military respects; but the local situation of this country, and the excellence of its government, saved it from the dangers of innovation and example. In

Iberia

the reaction of the disturbances in Attica caused great evils. The slave in the mines probably paid for the liberty of Athens with tears and the sweat of his brow.

The Celtes

obtained thereby knowledge, and consequently corruption. The revolution of Greece was also the remote cause of the slavery of these nations, by facilitating the conquest of the Romans. In

Italy

it led the people to politics, and possibly produced the revolution of Brutus, from the circumstance

of this great man's voyage to Delphos, almost at the moment that Hipparchus was assassinated by Harmodus. Those who know what great conceptions often arise from the most trivial causes, * will not despise this conjecture. In

Great Greece

the revolution, of which we are tracing the effects, acted in moral respects, occasioning some useful but transient effects. In

Sicily

it produced war and monarchy, The one was only the scourge of a moment, but the other cost Syracuse much blood and many tears. On

Scythia

its influence acted philosophically, in a vicious sense. The poor and virtuous shepherds of the Ister were corrupted by the attraction of the sciences, and finished by yielding to the attraction of gold. In

Thrace

it only produced little mischief; for the uncivilized state of the inhabitants fortunately sheltered them from the political and moral effects of the republican revolution in Greece. Lastly,

Tyre

did not escape this revolution as far as respects arms; but avoided seduction by the commercial and busy spirit of its citizens.

* The fall of an apple revealed to Newton the system of the universe.

The reader, in examining the above sketch, has without doubt already found with astonishment the truth resulting from its different parts. This boasted revolution, this highly desirable revolution, this revolution which was all virtue, all true liberty, produced nothing but evil to every country except Rome and Great Greece. What! when a nation becomes independent, must it be at the expense of the rest of mankind? Must the reaction of good be evil? Does not history appear to us here in a new point of view? Does not a ray of life penetrate through the obscure system of things, and do we not perceive how nations are respectively ordained the one for the other? If the Greeks, in the time of Aristides, only brought evils on the human race by breaking their chains, what can be reasonably expected (the system of perfection put apart), from the influence of the French revolution? Could any one possibly believe that the world was thereby to become virtuous and free?

When I first conceived the plan of this volume, I referred to the classic writers, who introduced me to the revolutions of Greece. At every page an ocean of reflections, and new combinations of ideas opened before me. Having sketched the outline of the revolution, which I have described in the preceding pages, I began to see objects in a less confused point of view, especially when I investigated the influence of this subject, a walk of history entirely new, or at least not to my knowledge trodden by any one before. I therefore

pruned away, according to a multitude of second thoughts, and threw upon paper the following observations, which constitute a sort of result from the general truths supplied by the republican revolution of Greece.

Is there such a thing as civil liberty? I doubt it. Were the Greeks happier or better after the revolution? No. Their evils were changed as to nominal extent, but their real extent continued to be the same.

In spite of a thousand efforts to penetrate into the causes of disturbances in states, we perceive that something escapes. It is indescribable and hidden I know not where, and this indescribable something appears to be the efficient cause of all revolutions. This secret reason is attended with the more anxiety to become acquainted with it, because it is not perceptible in social man. But did not social man begin by being the child of nature? It is the latter then to whom we must refer? Does not this unknown principle spring from a vague restlessness peculiar to our hearts, which makes us equally tired of happiness or misery, and will urge us from one revolution to another, even to the end of time? And whence arises this restlessness in its turn? Of that I am ignorant. Perhaps from the consciousness of another life, perhaps from a secret aspiring towards the divinity. Whatever be its origin it exists among all nations. It is to be met with in uncivilized life and in our

societies. It is increased by bad morals, and then overturns empires.

I have found a very striking proof of it in the causes of the French revolution, which differed entirely from those of the political troubles in Greece during the age of Solon. We do not perceive that the Athenians were then very unhappy or very corrupt. But what was our condition as to morality in the year 1789? Could we hope to escape the most terrible destruction? I will not speak of the government, but will only remark that wherever a small number of men enjoy wealth and power for a long succession of years, whether the birth of these rulers be patrician or plebeian, whether the mantle which covers them be republican or monarchical, they will necessarily become corrupt in the same progression as they are removed from the origin of their institution. Every man then has his own vices, in addition to the vices of those who preceded him. The court of France had existed thirteen hundred years.

A weak monarch, who loved his people, was easily deceived by weak or wicked ministers. Intrigue made and unmade statesmen every day, and these ephemeral ministers, who carried into administration their incapacity and their hearts, carried also into it the hatred of those who had preceded them. Hence the continual change of systems, projects and views. These political dwarfs were followed by a crowd of hungry agents, lacqueys, flatterers, comedians and mistresses.

All these creatures of the moment hastened to drain the blood of the miserable, and soon fell, to be succeeded by another generation of insects as fugitive and voracious as the first.

While the follies and imbecillity of government exasperated the minds of the people, immorality had attained its highest pitch and began to attack social order in a frightful manner. The number of unmarried men had increased in an immense proportion, and celibacy was become common, even among the lower classes of society. These isolated men, who were in consequence egotists, tried to fill up the chasm in their own lives by disturbing the families of others. Woe to the state in which the citizens seek their happiness beyond the bounds of morality, and the sweetest feelings of our nature ! If, on the one hand, the single people increased, those who were married had, on the other, adopted ideas at least as destructive to society. The principle of having only a small number of children was almost generally received in the cities and towns of France ; among some from distress, but among the greater number from bad morals. A father and mother were unwilling to sacrifice the comforts of life, in order to educate a numerous family ; and this self-love was clothed with the garb of philosophy. “ Why create unfortunate beings ? ” said some. “ Why beget beggars ? ” exclaimed others. I throw a veil over some secret motives of this depravity. I will say nothing of the women, except that they are

better than we are, and follow a natural weakness in being what we wish them to be. The fault is our's.

If these morals affected society in general, they had a still greater influence on each individual member. The man, who no longer found his happiness in the union of a family, and revolted at the tender name of father, accustomed himself to form a felicity independent of others. Cast out of the lap of nature by the manners of his age, he wrapped himself in hardened egotism, which destroyed virtue to its very root. To complete his evils, after losing happiness in this world, the philosophic executioners deprived him of the hope of a better life. In this situation, finding himself alone amidst the universe, being devoured by an empty and solitary heart, which had never felt another heart beat against it, can we be astonished that the Frenchman was ready to embrace the first phantom which a new universe opened to him?

It will be said that it is absurd to represent the people of France as isolated and unhappy, that the population was numerous and flourishing, &c. The latter remark, which appears to destroy my statement, is in fact a proof of it; for in the country morality still existed, and there population received no check; but it did elsewhere, and every one knows that the peasants were not instrumental towards the revolution. As to the second objection, the question is not what the nation ap-

peared to be, but what it really was. Those, who see nothing in a state but carriages, large towns, troops, noise and bustle, have reason to think that France was happy ; but those who think that the great question of happiness is as near to nature as possible, that the more a man recedes from her the more he falls into misfortune, that he then wears a smile upon his face before the world, while his heart, in spite of fictitious pleasures, is agitated, sad and secretly consuming away—in this case, I say, it cannot be denied that the general dissatisfaction with himself, which increases the secret uneasiness I have mentioned, and the disordered feeling, which every one carries with him, are not in any country the most proper state for a revolution among its inhabitants.

It was, nevertheless, at this moment that the body politic, stained all over as it was with the blotches of corruption, fell into general dissolution through a race of men, who at once arose, and in a sort of vertigo sounded the resurrection of Sparta and Athens. At the same moment the cry of liberty was heard. Old Jupiter, suddenly awaking from a slumber of fifteen centuries in the dust of Olympus, was astonished to find himself at St. Genevieve. The head of the Parisian Clown was covered with the cap of the Lacedæmonian citizen. All corrupted, all vicious as he was, the grand virtues of the Lacedæmonian were forced upon the little Frenchman, and he was constrained to play the character of Pantaloon in the eyes

of Europe, attired in this masquerade dress of Harlequin.

Oh ye great politicians, who inverted the motives of Lycurgus, and pretended to establish democracy among a people, at the very time that all nations were returning, from the nature of things, to monarchy, that is to say at the epoch of extreme corruption! Oh ye famous philosophers, who believed in the existence of civil liberty, and thought there was more happiness among the mob of the Parisian suburbs than among the court-mob at Versailles!—"But what should we have done?" say you. I know not, except that as you furiously destroyed, so you ought at least to rebuild an edifice proper for the French to reside in; and above all, you ought to guard yourselves against the enthusiasm caused by foreign institutions. The danger of imitation is terrible. That, which is wholesome for one nation, is seldom the same for another. I myself would pass my days under such a democracy as I have fancied, when theoretically forming the sublimest of governments; but to pretend to establish republics, in spite of every obstacle, is an absurdity in most people, and a wickedness in many.

I have long reflected on this subject. I do not dislike one constitution more than another, abstractedly considered. As far as regards myself individually, they are all perfectly indifferent to me. My inclinations are towards solitude, and not society. Wretches that we are, we torment

ourselves to discover a perfect government, and are vicious! We wish to enjoy what is excellent, while we ourselves are depraved. We disturb ourselves to-day for the sake of some vain system, and to-morrow we shall be no more. Of the sixty years which Heaven perhaps has destined us to pass in this world, we spend twenty in our birth and twenty in dying, while half the other twenty are lost in sleep. Are we afraid that the miseries, inherent in our nature, will not sufficiently occupy the small remaining space, without adding to them the evils of jarring opinions? Is it some indefinite instinct, some internal void, which we know not how to fill, that torments us? I too have felt this vague longing. It led me into the silent solitudes of America, and the noisy cities of Europe. To satisfy it I buried myself in the dark forests of Canada, and mingled with the crowd which flocks to our gardens and temples. How many times has it obliged me to quit the sights which great towns afford, in order to witness the setting sun in some wild region! How many times have I escaped from the society of mankind, and on the solitary beach contemplated for hours, with the inquietude above described, the philosophic spectacle of the sea! It has made me follow from their palaces kings, who leave behind them a long renown, to accompany them in their career; and it has also led me to sit in silence at the door of the hospitable hut, near the savage who passes unknown through life, like the nameless rivers of his

deserts. Man, if it be thy destiny to carry with thee every where a heart filled with an unknown desire, one resource is ever open to operate as a cure for thy malady. Let the sciences, those daughters of heaven, fill up the fatal void, which will otherwise lead thee, sooner or later, to thy ruin. The stillness of the night invites thee. Behold those millions of twinkling stars, suspended in all parts above thy head. Search, in the paths of Newton, the secret laws by which these globes of fire proudly pursue their course across the azure sky; or if the divinity inspire thy soul, meditate in adoration upon that incomprehensible Being, who fills with his immensity this boundless space. Should these studies be too sublime for thy genius, or shouldst thou be too miserable even to fix thy hopes in the Father of the afflicted, who will console all that weep, there are still other occupations which are equally praise-worthy and less profound. Instead of giving way to social animosities, observe the peaceful genera in the most charming pursuit that nature affords; observe the soft sympathies and loves of the vegetable creation. Thou wilt then know nothing but delight, and at least thou wilt have the advantage of finding every morning thy favourite plants; whereas, in the world, the friend whom we pressed last night to our hearts, was perhaps found no more when we awoke this morning. We mortals are, as it were, witnessing a fairy spectacle at a theatre. If we for a moment turn our heads aside, the

whistle is blown, the enchanted palace vanishes, and on turning our eyes towards the stage again, we behold nothing but a desert scene, and unknown actors.

CHAP. XLIII.

Second Revolution effected by Philip and Alexander.

WE are now about to enter on the second revolution, or the transition of the Greek republics to monarchy. The scene changes, and from the similarity of events we pass to that of men. Hitherto the pictures have been like each other, as far as regarded situation, though the persons concerned in several respects differed from each other. The resemblance will now, on the contrary, appear in the prominent groups of figures, and the dissimilarity will be in the tract of country that forms the back ground. The more we advance towards the times of corruption, knowledge and despotism, the more we shall discover our own times and morals. We shall often think ourselves transported into the society of the present day, in the midst of great ladies and little men, philosophers and tyrants. The most depraved people will talk loudly about virtue; fine books that teach the science of liberty will lead nations into slavery, and we shall find ourselves at last among the same knaves and fools that constantly surround us in the present age.

Pericles took the right way to arrive at happi-

ness. Treating the world according to its extent of intellect, and as necessity obliged him to appear, he conveyed the idea of a man possessing only common abilities and a heart of ice; but when he was at night in a private party with Aspasia and a small number of select friends, he displayed his secret sentiments and a heart of fire. The fools perceived his contempt of them; for fools are singularly quick in this respect, and nothing provokes them so much as indifference or contempt. They then accused the tender companion of Pericles, and he hardly succeeded in saving her by his tears. Yet who could claim more gratitude from his fellow citizens than Pericles? On this, however, he little relied, for he had studied mankind. Gratitude is extinct in the breast of the very necessitous man, because the sensation of his first wants is sure to absorb every other. It sometimes exists in the low mechanic, provided he is not absolutely indigent; it is exchanged for hatred in the individual who is placed a degree below his benefactor; it is of weight with the philosopher, and the courtier forgets it. From this statement it results that we ought to do good to the distressed from a sense of duty; that we ought to oblige the mechanic as a gratification to our own hearts; that we should be extremely polite to the middle classes of mankind, lend men of letters only exactly what they can return, and never give any thing to the great, but with a conviction that it is thrown out of the window.

To these little caricatures of modern society will be added our greater tragic exhibitions—tyranny, proscriptions, kings condemned and executed by the people, others hurled from their thrones and reduced to gain a livelihood by the labour of their hands; in fact, our own hideous revolutions, with all the train of our vices.

It is evident that it now becomes impossible to follow the regular course of history, or to dwell on the details of particular events. What remains to be said of the Greeks will consist of the period between the one already described and the reigns of Philip and Alexander, when Athens and Lacedæmon lost their liberty, not nominally, but in reality.

During this interval, which comprehends the lapse of time between the peace with the Persians and the battle of Chersonesus, and consequently includes a hundred and eleven years, we will only fix on three characteristic events, viz. the overthrow of the constitution and reign of the Thirty Tyrants at Athens, the fall of Dionysius the younger at Syracuse, and the condemnation of Agis at Sparta. We shall thus see the age of corruption in the three principal Greek cities of the old world. As to the revolution of Philip, we shall only point it out, because it does not directly tend to the object of this work, but we shall, at the same time, dwell on the age of Alexander, because, philosophically considered, it has had so great an effect upon our own.

CHAP. XLIV.

*Overthrow of the Constitution and Reign of the
Thirty Tyrants at Athens.*

TWENTY years of war had already desolated Attica.* A plague, not less destructive, had swept away the greater part of the inhabitants, and plunged the rest into every species of vice. Pericles was no more, and Alcibiades, who had been a fugitive since the unfortunate Sicilian expedition, after having for some time guided the league of the Peloponnesus against his country, retired to the palace of Tisaphernes, Satrap of Lydia.

There, affected by misfortunes, of which he was partly the instrument, he began to turn his eyes towards his country. The citizens of Athens, on their part, overpowered by the weight of their calamities, and having to struggle at the same time against all the forces of Peloponnesus and Asia, saw no resource but in the genius of their illustrious countryman. Negotiations were begun by Alcibiades, but as he had been banished by the people, he refused to return to Athens, unless the form of government was changed, by substituting an oligarchy for a democratic constitution. The tyrant wished to make his bed before he lay down on it.

A prompt reconciliation, at whatever price it

* There had been a truce which ought to have lasted fifty years, and which was broken at the end of six years and a half.

might be obtained, was become absolutely necessary. Agis, with the Lacedæmonian forces, blockaded Athens on the land side, and occupied the neighbouring plains, the inhabitants of which had fled into the capital. On the other hand, the Athenian army had seized, and now held the island of Samos. Thus the inhabitants of Attica were in two divisions, the one serving in expeditions at a distance, the other remaining for the defence of the city.

In spite of these calamitous circumstances the proposition of Alcibiades did not pass, without a strong opposition on the part of the people and the soldiery; but when there remained no other means of escaping almost inevitable ruin, it became necessary to submit, and consent to the abolition of democracy.

Then began at Athens those tragic scenes, which were soon afterwards renewed under the Thirty Tyrants. It is not possible to fancy a more frightful situation than that of this unfortunate city, nor one that so strongly resembled the state of France during the reign of the Convention. Attacked from without by a thousand enemies, and ready to sink under foreign controul, a devouring aristocracy within its walls consumed the rest of its inhabitants. It was forthwith decreed that there should be none but soldiers, and five thousand citizens to take a part in the affairs of the republic; and that all, who wished to oppose the measures of the conspirators, might be for ever

annihilated, every one was immediately sent away who was suspected of an attachment to the ancient constitution. The people and the senate then assembled; but if any one ventured to deliver an opinion contrary to the faction, he was immediately assassinated. Surrounded by spies and traitors, the citizens were afraid of communicating with each other. The brother doubted his brother; the friend was mute in the company of his friend; and the silence of terror reigned through the desolated city.

Having established this provisional tyranny, the conspirators proceeded to frame a constitution. A committee of ten was appointed to make an immediate report on this subject. The committee presented its plan as required, which consisted in establishing a Council of Four Hundred, with absolute power, and the right of convoking the Five Thousand at its pleasure.

The first act of the new government shewed what was to be expected from its justice. The Four Hundred, armed with poniards and followed by their satellites, entered the senate and drove out the members. They afterwards overturned the ancient establishments, and massacred or exiled the enemies of their despotism; but they did not recal any of the ancient exiles, whose cause they had at first embraced, either from fear of Alcibiades, or in order to enjoy the property forfeited by their misfortunes. The world appears

to me like a great forest, where all mankind are lurking to rob each other.

The army, however, on learning the disturbances at Athens, declared itself against the new constitution. Alcibiades, whom the tyrants had neglected, who cared neither for democracy nor aristocracy, and entertained a sovereign contempt for mankind, was not disposed to favour the conspirators. The soldiers, like the French troops, elevated by their exploits, remarked that far from being paid by the republic, it was their valour, on the contrary, which supported the existence of the republic, and that it was time to put an end to so many calamities, by marching to the city which was the cause of them.

While these feelings agitated the public mind, a fugitive arrived from Athens. All crowded round him, and listened to his disastrous tidings. He reported criminality to have reached its very height: he stated that the tyrants tore wives from their husbands, murdered the citizens, and cast into dungeons the families which were connected with the army by ties of blood.* At these words, a cry of indignation and fury arose in the midst of the army. They swore to exterminate the wretches, drove away every officer who was supposed to be a partizan of the aristocratic faction, chose for their commander those who were the most popular, and instantly recalled Alcibiades.

* This report was exaggerated.

Every thing announced the fall of the Four Hundred. There were among them men of extraordinary talents, viz. Antiphon, who spoke little, but commented on the speeches of his colleagues; Phrynichus, a man of audacious and enterprising spirit, and Theramenes, a powerful orator, who possessed very superior genius. It was not long before discord prevailed among them. Men but little resemble those animals, described by travellers, which, after having hunted together, make a just partition of the fruits of their fatigues; the factious are all greedy for the chief share of the spoil. Theramenes, perceiving that their power was on the decline, returned by degrees to the old constitution, and ranged himself on the side of the people. Phrynichus supported the new order of things from motives of ambition, and in order to provide himself with resources, sent deputies secretly to Sparta, and employed people to build a fortress at Piræus, that he might receive the enemy there, and retire to it himself in case of necessity. While busied in these undertakings, he was suddenly assassinated in the public square, like Marat in the midst of his triumphs. Theramenes, who was now at the head of the popular party, caused the citizens to rise, and seized the general of the opposite faction. The Four Hundred flew to arms in order to defend themselves. At the same moment the Lacedæmonian fleet appeared at the entrance of Piræus, and the tumult reached its height. Theramenes flew to the port,

and harangued the soldiers. He represented to them that a citadel had been erected by tyrants, not for the safety of the city, but for the purpose of introducing the enemy of the country, whose vessels were already in sight. The troops were incensed; the fortress was rased to its foundation and disappeared beneath the fury of the multitude; the abolition of the tribunal of Four Hundred was decreed by acclamation; the alarmed conspirators escaped from the city, and the popular constitution was re-established, amidst benedictions and shouts of joy on the part of the multitude.

Such were the transient disturbances, in which the character of the French is so visible. The same extent of vice and immorality prevailed. The government flattered the soldiery, and surrounded itself with the military, a certain sign of ruin and tyranny. Such a similarity of ideas and events may be here perceived, that we almost fancy we are reading the history of our own time. We no longer see Themistocles, Aristides and Cimon, but Robespierre, Couthon and Barrere. In other respects this revolution at Athens is connected with a political axiom, which we are about to examine before we pass to the Thirty Tyrants.

By a general principle, which statesmen have adopted, nations have the right of chusing a government for themselves, and by another principle, equally well known, viz. that all power is derived from the people, they can resume their rights and

change their constitution. The Athenians did this by consenting to the abolition of democracy, and afterwards re-establishing it. Let us see to what end these axioms lead us.

Of the three parties, who compose the public, one adopts them absolutely, and says : A nation has a right to chuse its own government, because the first existed before the last, and because the first is a real body existing in nature, of which the other is only a modification and idea. The law cannot ascend from the effect to the cause, but must descend from the principle to its consequence. All power, therefore, is derived from the people, which cannot alienate their liberty, for the contract is void between him who gives every thing and him who makes no return—between him who cannot buy and him who has not the right to sell.

The opposite party denies all this, and the *Moderés* throw a religious veil over these axioms. I cannot adopt such conduct. The people is a child ; give it a coral hung with bells, and if you do not explain the cause, it will break the plaything to discover how the sound is produced. For my own part I boldly avow the truth, and am persuaded that, on every occasion, the truth, properly explained, is the best line of conduct to be adopted. I accept the two principles, then, as unassailable in their basis and indisputable as to argument ; but in adopting the major position

with the republicans, let us see whether we should admit the corollary.

Must we conclude that what is logically true to its full extent is sure to be salutary in its application? There are abstract truths, which would be absurd if we were to reduce them into practice. There are negative and unfortunate truths, which are not the better because they actually are truths. For instance, it is true that I have a fever, but is it a pleasant thing to have a fever? The chaos, into which the two propositions plunge us, is evident in itself. The people has the power of choosing its own government, but it has also the power of changing that government, because all sovereignty emanates from it; so that the country, which was yesterday a republic, is to day a monarchy, and may be to-morrow a republic again. By the former right it will be said that a nation runs the risk of sinking into slavery, as was the case at Athens, unless it had the latter to save it. Granted.—But does not this second faculty place it at the mercy of factious persons without number, who exist only in confusion? These factious persons know too well the turbulent inclination of the multitude, and will incessantly persuade it that its constitution of the moment is the worst of all, for the very reasons which in fact constitute the excellence of this constitution; so that eternal carnage and eternal revolutions will prevail among mankind. Besides, is there any

power which can annul at night the solemn oaths sworn in the morning? Honour, the most sacred engagements, and morality itself are mere folly, if we have the incontestible right to violate them; and if by this violation we think that we have not merited reproaches but praise. What! Are we to reward, in a collective body, the want of faith which we should punish in an individual? Are there then two virtues, the one appertaining to man, and the other to nations? Oh virtue, canst thou be otherwise than one and the same? If thou art double, thou art triple, quadruple, or rather thou art only an imaginary being that levels the honest man to a footing with the villain; thou art a delusive phantom that assumes every form, modifies itself according to our dispositions, and varies with every varying opinion we adopt! What will become of the universe?

Such is the abyss into which those would lead us, who display, at a distance, knowledge of so dangerous a description, like those deceitful beacons lighted by wretches upon rocks in the night, for the purpose of causing the wreck of the vessels attracted by them. If any one wishes to convince himself of the fallacy of these precepts, let him examine the contradictions into which the French convention fell when trying to make use of them in their political economy. It was at one period a crime deserving death in France to dare to assert that a nation had not the right of chusing a constitution for itself. Anarchy

ensued, and the revolutionists were then not ashamed of denying the proposition, to support which they had shed so much blood. They were thus obliged to abandon the base of their own edifice, while they continued to suspend its cupola in the air. Was this superiority of talent, or bad faith? For my part I am simple in spirit and in heart; I derive all my genius from my conscience, and confess that I theoretically believe in the principle of the sovereignty of the people; but to this I add that if it be rigorously put in practice, it would be much better for the human race to return to a savage state, and run naked through the woods,

Some years after the revolution of the Four Hundred, Athens was taken by the Lacedæmonians. Lysander caused the walls of the city to be destroyed, abolished democracy, and named thirty citizens, who were entrusted with the office of framing a new constitution. These wicked men soon seized the authority, which was entrusted to them. Let us describe the principal actions in this sanguinary scene.

At the head of the thirty tyrants appeared Critias, a philosopher and disciple of Socrates. This despot had all the vices of those who so long desolated France. An atheist in principle, blood-thirsty and tyrannical from inclination, like Marat he disowned both God and men.

Theramenes, his colleague, possessed greater ta-

lents and more suppleness. Like Syeyes, he was a lover of democracy, yet consented to become one of the Four Hundred, soon afterwards overturned their authority, and was again chosen one of the thirty after the reduction of Athens.

The first step of these monsters was to embody three thousand brigands, and to bring a guard from Lacedæmon which was ready to execute their orders. As soon as they thought themselves strong enough, they disarmed the city (as the convention did with regard to the sections of Paris) except the three thousand who preserved the rights of citizens. It was thus that the conspirators of France proceeded as to the jacobins, who were the only active citizens of the republic, while the rest of the people, plunged into terror and nothingness, trembled under a revolutionary government.

Being now certain that their sway was established, the thirty proceeded to criminal measures. All Athenians, who were suspected of attachment to ancient liberty, and all, who possessed any property, were included in the general proscription. Critias said, like Marat, that the principal persons of the city must at all risks lose their heads. The villains went so far as to select the wealthy in their turns and condemn them to death, in order to pay the satellites of tyranny by the confiscation of their estates ; and as if this whole tragedy was destined to resemble that of Robespierre and the

French convention, the bodies of the massacred citizens were deprived of funeral honours.*

Athens was only one vast tomb, inhabited by terror and silence. A look, a gesture, or even a thought became fatal to the unfortunate citizens. The wretches studied the countenances of their victims, seeking for virtue and candour in this fine organ of truth, as a judge tries to discover the hidden guilt of a culprit. The least unfortunate of the Athenians were those who escaped in the darkness of night, and went, despoiled of all, to drag on a burdensome existence among foreign nations.

The enormity of this conduct at length opened the eyes of some of the tyrants. Theramenes, though of a pliant nature, was intrinsically courageous, and well disposed. He shuddered at these atrocities and opposed them with magnanimity, upon which his destruction was resolved. In like manner Tallien was detested by Robespierre, and was on the point of perishing under a denunciation ; but being more fortunate or more adroit than the Athenian, he turned the poniard against the accuser himself. It is thus that chance disposes of men's lives. I will report these two celebrated accusations, the one after the other. We shall thereby perceive that factions have always

* About twelve to fifteen hundred citizens were massacred. Xenophon, however, makes the number much more considerable, as I shall have occasion to shew elsewhere.

spoken similar language, adducing the same reasons for accusation, and the same principles for defence. I cannot give a better lesson to the ambitious partizans of revolutions, than by shewing them that in all ages there was only one result to those who engaged in them—the grave.

When the Thirty abolished the constituted authorities of Athens, they had allowed the Senate to remain; for it was subjugated by terror, and could cause them no uneasiness. It was before this tribunal that Critias denounced Theramenes. The people, in gloomy silence and tremour, assisted at the trial of their last defender, while the emissaries of the tyrants, with daggers concealed under their mantles, occupied the avenues and surrounded the judges.

The parties being assembled, Critias thus took the word :

“ Senators, our government is accused of severity without its being considered that this is a lamentable necessity attendant on the reformation of every state ; but is not Theramenes, who is himself a member of this government, more culpable than any other person, when he makes this accusation against us ? Yes, it was not to-day that he learnt to conspire. He called himself the friend of the people, and established the power of the Four Hundred. Perceiving that they were about to sink, he abandoned them and joined the opposite party, whence he acquired the surname of *the Buskin*. Senators, is the man fit to live who forfeits his good faith from interested motives ? Let his death deprive the factions of a leader, whose audacity constitutes their only hope.”

Theramenes then said :

“ Is Critias, or am I, Senators, really your enemy ? I leave

you to decide the point. I was of his opinion when he punished delinquents, but I opposed him when it was his object to proscribe honest men, such as Leo of Salamis ; Nicias, whose death has alarmed every man of property, and Antiphon, at whose fate all who have deserved well of their country still shudder.* I have censured the confiscation of estates as unjust, and the decree, which disarmed the citizens, as tending to weaken the state. I have opposed the introduction of foreign guards as tyrannical, and the banishment of the Athenians as dangerous to the safety of the state. When people seize the property of others, and condemn the innocent, do they not in fact destroy your authority, Senators ? I am accused of versatility. Is it Critias who reproaches me with this—he who was an enemy of the people during the democracy, and an enemy of the virtuous during the government of the small number ? Senators, he wishes for no popular constitution unless it is shared with the mob, for no aristocratic constitution unless it is combined with tyranny ?

Critias, perceiving that this speech made an impression upon the Senate, called his satellites. “ Behold the patriots,” said he, “ who are not disposed to suffer the escape of the guilty. In virtue of my sovereignty I erase the name of Theramenes from the roll of citizens, and condemn him to death.”—“ And I,” exclaimed the latter, leaping upon the altar, “ demand that my process shall be conducted according to law. Do you not perceive, Athenians, that it is as easy to erase your names from the roll of citizens as that of Theramenes ?”—Critias now ordered the assassins to advance ; Theramenes was torn from the

* Antiphon, who was proscribed by the Thirty, had fitted out two galleys, at his own expense, for the service of his country during the Peloponnesian war.

altar; the Senate overawed by the poniard, was obliged to be silent; Socrates alone courageously opposed the infamous decree, but in vain. The unfortunate colleague of Critias was dragged away by the guards. As he passed through the crowd he tried to move the people in his behalf, but do they ever remember the benefits conferred upon them?* On arriving at the dungeons of the Thirty, Theramenes intrepidly drank the hemlock, and throwing the last drops into the air,

* This brings to my mind the affecting observation of Velleius Paterculus with respect to Pompey, who hoped to find an asylum at the court of a king whom he had loaded with favours, and instead of it found his death. The proud pyramids of Egypt, built by the united efforts of a whole nation, and the dark humble tomb of Pompey, privately constructed on the same shore by the piety of an old soldier, might have supplied Cæsar with two most extraordinary monuments of the vanity of human affairs. Painters should search history for subjects, uniting at the same time the dignity of morality and the grandeur of nature. The tomb of Cæsar's rival might supply this advantage; and another subject might be supplied, not less sublime, *viz.* a stormy sea, the ruins of Carthage half enveloped in shade and sea-rushes; Marius contemplating the tempest while he leans in a pensive attitude upon some broken piece of a column, that perhaps displays in Punic characters the first mutilated letters of Hannibal's name. The history of the Swiss would form a third subject. The painter might represent the three great liberators of Helvetia, clothed in the simple garb of peasants, secretly assembled in a desert place on the borders of a solitary lake, and deliberating on the liberty of their country amidst mountains, forests and torrents. The silence of nature encompasses them, and they have no witnesses to their holy union but that God, who heaped the icy Alps around them, and spread the firmament above their heads.

as at a festival, exclaimed: "That for the worthy Critias!"

Is not this a picture of the Convention? Was it not thus that the members were often led into the support of corrupt proceedings, and infamous accusations, because their opinions were fettered by tribunes filled with assassins? The philosopher sees still more in this; he remarks that wherever revolutions have been durable, such scenes have not disgraced them.

— The fall of Robespierre may certainly be mentioned as one of the most memorable events in the French revolution. This tyrant, who had only another step to take before he seated himself upon the throne, resolved to defeat the *Moderé* Tallien, in the same manner that Critias had disposed of Theramenes. He re-appeared in the Convention after a long absence. One would have said that the cold hand of death already strangled the wretch's utterance in his own palace. He was obscure, embarrassed, confused—and appeared to be speaking from the recesses of the sepulchre. Another circumstance not less remarkable is, that his speech, which with most disgraceful flattery was ordered to be printed, had not been issued from the press when this all-powerful man underwent the fatal punishment of his crimes. *O altitudo!*

The day of vengeance at length arrived. It is hardly to be conceived that Robespierre, who knew the human heart, could denounce to the ja-

cobins those deputies whom he wished to destroy. It was a step which drove them to despair, and rendered them still more formidable. They went to the Convention resolved to perish, or to overthrow the despot. The latter still retained, however, such an influence over his pusillanimous colleagues, that his enemies dared not openly attack him; but they gradually encouraged each other, and at length the accusation assumed a menacing form. Robespierre wished to speak, but shouts of "Down with the tyrant," resounded from every side. Tallien, leaping into the tribune exclaimed: "Behold the poniard, which shall be plunged into the tyrants' breast, if the decree of accusation be rejected!" It was not. Barrere, abandoning his friend, and becoming himself an evidence against him, caused the majority to decide against the unfortunate Robespierre. He was seized, but being rescued by the jacobins, took refuge at the Hotel-de-Ville, and attempted, but in vain, to assemble a party in his behalf. Being outlawed by a decree of the Convention, and deserted by all the world, he could not escape his enemies even by that step which releases us from the persecution of mankind. Fortune betrayed him so completely that she did not even allow him the commission of suicide. Being dragged by guards from a table, behind which he had made an attempt on his life, he was led to the guillotine bathed in his own blood. The death of Robespierre was undoubtedly but a feeble expiation of his crimes; yet

when a criminal is led to the scaffold, pity considers his sufferings and not his guilt.

After the execution of Theramenes, no citizen, Socrates excepted, had the temerity to oppose the measures of the Thirty. The emigrants, driven from their country by tyranny, could find no place in which they might rest their heads; for Lacedæmon threatened with vengeance any power that gave these unfortunate people a reception.*—It was thus that the Convention pursued expatriated Frenchmen, and that several states had the meanness to obey its dictates. Thebes † and Megara alone set the courageous example, which England followed in our days, and made it their duty to welcome suffering humanity.

The fugitives soon assembled under Thrasybulus, a citizen distinguished by his virtues. This little group, composed of no more than seventy heroes, seized on Fort Phyle. The Thirty hastened thither with their cavalry, but were repulsed with loss, and, fearing an insurrection at Athens, retired to Eleusis.

The manner in which they acted towards the inhabitants of this place (whom they apparently suspected of attachment to the opposite party) recalls

* It even decreed that they should be delivered to the Thirty, and levied a fine of five talents on every one who gave them an asylum.

† Thebes carried its generosity so far as to issue an edict against those, who refused to defend an Athenian emigrant to the utmost.

to our minds one of the most tragic scenes of the French revolution. Having caused their tribunal to be erected in the public square, they required by proclamation that each citizen should come thither and inscribe his name, under a pretext of enrolment. When the victim appeared, he was conducted through a small door which opened to the sea, and here the cavalry was drawn up in two ranks. The unfortunate man was instantly seized, and delivered over to the criminal judge for execution.* With some few shades of difference we might fancy that we were witnessing the massacre of the 2d September.

Thrasybulus having increased his party, advanced to Piræus, of which he obtained posses-

* This demands explanation. Xenophon, who relates the circumstance in the second book of his history, does not expressly say that the citizens were *executed*, but that the commander of the cavalry delivered them to the criminal judge, and, on the following day, the Thirty having assembled the troops, declared to them that they must take a part in the *condemnation* of the Eleusinians, because they shared the same fortune as the Thirty. Is not this language sufficiently clear? Some authors have calculated that the number, who thus suffered, was about fifteen hundred, but Xenophon makes Cleocritus assert, in one of his speeches, that the Thirty caused the death of more citizens, during a peace of a few months, than had perished during the Peloponnesian war of twenty-seven years. If this be an exaggeration, it is probably not far from the truth. It would perhaps be possible to shew that the Greek expression bears the construction I put upon it, if I wished to tire the reader with a grammatical discussion. Upon the whole, it is reasonable to conclude that there was a massacre at Eleusis.

sion. Public opinion began to incline towards him, and a softened sentiment arose at beholding a handful of brave patriots opposed to a powerful tyranny. The orator Lycias sent a hundred men to the Athenian emigrants. The Thirty marched immediately with their army to dislodge Thrasybulus. The latter ranged his troops, which were in number infinitely below those of Critias, in order of battle, and, placing his buckler on the earth, thus addressed his companions in misfortune:—
 “ Let us advance, my friends, and fight to rescue from the hands of tyrants our property, our families, our country! Happy the man who will enjoy the glory of conquest, or recover his liberty by death. Nothing is so noble as to die for our country.”

At these words the fugitives rushed against the enemy. The combat was too unequal to be long doubtful. On one side fought virtue and vengeance; on the other, guilt and evil consciences. The tyrants were overthrown, Critias lost his life in the field, and the rest of the Thirty fled in terror to Athens.

After the action, the soldiers of the two parties conversed together. Those, who fought under Critias, were part of the five thousand inhabitants who, as I have said, preserved the right of citizens. Cleocritus, who was attached to the party of Thrasybulus, made them feel how foolish it was to vent their rage upon each other for the sake of their rulers. The Three Thousand, dissatisfied

with their ancient tyrants, chose ten others, who conducted themselves as criminally as their predecessors. The Thirty and their faction took refuge in Eleusis.

CHAP. XLV.

The Abolition of Tyranny, and Re-establishment of the ancient Constitution.

IT was a maxim of the free people of Sparta to support tyranny every where. If the principle was not generous, it was at least natural. We try to be happy, but we cannot bear to witness happiness in our neighbours. Men are like those pe-
tulant children, who are not content with their own toys, but wish to seize those of others. The Lacedæmonians flew to assist the Thirty; Lysander blockaded Pyræus, and the cause of the Athenian emigrants would have been lost, if human passions had not saved it, and restored peace to the country.

Pausanias, King of Sparta, being jealous of Lysander's glory, had the address to effect a decree, by which he himself was sent with an army against Athens. He fought a battle against Thrasybulus for the sake of form, and at the same time secretly invited him to send some of his friends as deputies to Sparta. They concluded a treaty, by which tyranny was abolished, and the government restored to its pristine form. These happy tidings were conveyed to Athens, upon which all parties

were reconciled ; and Thrasybulus, after having offered a sacrifice to Minerva, thus ended his address to the ancient faction of the Thirty and the Ten : “ Why do you wish to command us, citizens ? Are you any better than ourselves ? Have we, though poor, coveted your property, and have not you tried by a thousand crimes to strip us of the little we possess ?.....I do not wish to dwell on the past ; but learn from us that the oppressed have often more faith and virtue than their oppressors.”

The Thirty and the Ten, after retiring to Eleusis, wished to raise troops for the purpose of re-establishing their authority. An impotent tyrant is like a muzzled tiger, and becomes more ferocious from constraint. A deputation met these wretches, and they were assassinated during the conference. Those who had followed their fortunes, came to terms of accommodation with the conquerors, and a wise amnesty healed all the wounds of the state.

I put a question to myself, while writing the reign of the Thirty Tyrants. Why has Thrasybulus been extolled to the skies, and why are the French emigrants vilified to the lowest degree ? The case is precisely the same. The fugitives from the two countries were forced into exile by persecution, and took up arms in foreign lands, for the purpose of restoring the ancient constitution of the country. Words cannot change the nature of things, and though one body fought for

democracy and the other for monarchy, the fact remains in itself the same. These differences of opinion as to similar objects arise from our passions ; we judge of the past according to justice, of the present according to our interest.

The French emigrants, like every thing else during revolutionary times, have had violent detractors and warm partizans. Some declare them to be villains, the refuse and disgrace of their country ; others assert that they are virtuous and brave, the flower and honour of the French nation. This reminds us of the portrait of the Chinese and negroes, all good or all infamous. If we allow that a great lord may be a knave, and a royalist perhaps a dishonest man, this is not sufficient. Any one, who was formerly a gentleman, is a rascal of course. And why ? Because one of his ancestors, who lived in the time of King Dagobert, could oblige his vassals to make the frogs of the neighbouring pool cease their croaking while his lady was in bed.

A worthy foreigner, sitting at his fireside, in a tranquil country, and sure of rising in the morning as he went to bed at night, in secure possession of his fortune, with his gate well barred, and his friends around him, asserts, while he drinks his glass of wine, that the French emigrants are wrong, and ought never to have quitted their country, and the good man continues to argue accordingly. He is at his ease ; no one persecutes him ; he can walk where he pleases without any

risk of being insulted or assassinated ; no one sets fire to his dwelling ; he is not hunted down like a wild beast, all because his name happens to be James instead of Peter, and his grandfather, who died forty years ago, had the right of sitting on some particular bench at church, with two or three harlequins in livery behind him. Certainly, I say, such a foreigner as this thinks it wrong to quit his country.

The unfortunate, however, are the proper judges as to the unfortunate. The gross heart of prosperity cannot comprehend the delicate feelings of distress. We believe ourselves strong in the hour of felicity, and say to ourselves : “ If we were in such a situation, we would act thus ;” but if adversity overtake us, we soon feel our weakness, and with bitter tears recollect our vain boasting and frivolous remarks during the days of happiness.

If the sufferings of the French emigrants be dispassionately considered, where is the man, who is prosperous at the present moment, that can lay his hand upon his heart and venture to say : “ I would not have done as they did.”

Persecution began at the same time in all parts of France, and let no one suppose that public opinion was the cause of it. If you had been the best patriot, or the most extravagant democrat, still if you bore a name known to have been noble, this was enough to make it certain that you would be persecuted, burnt, or hung at the lamp-iron ; witness the Lameths, and so many others, whose

estates were laid waste, though they were revolutionists, and belonged to the majority of the Constituent Assembly.

Troops of savages, instigated by other savages, emerged from their caverns. An unfortunate gentleman, at his country house, saw frightened peasants running from all sides and exclaiming: "Sir, the tocsin is sounded! Here they come, sir! They are resolved to kill you, sir! Fly, fly, sir, or you are lost."—If these unhappy gentlemen, after being awake in the middle of the night by cries of fire and murder, escaped through a thousand dangers from their houses now consumed to ashes, and wished, with their half naked wives and children, to take shelter in the neighbouring towns, they were received with shouts of death: "An aristocrat! *A la lanterne!*" The head of the municipality, in his red ribbon, immediately came with the populace to make a solemn examination whether they had arms about them, and if unfortunately an old rusty sporting knife, or an unloaded pistol were found in their possession, cries of "Traitor, conspirator, scoundrel, &c." resounded from all sides. They were then dragged to the Town's Hall, to answer accusations of pretended harangues against the people, or for having attended mass, according to the faith of their forefathers; and finally they were surcharged with arbitrary taxes by infamous decrees, which obliged them to pay these taxes immediately from their rents, though other decrees, by abolishing the

rents, left them entirely without resources, and the taxes themselves often surpassed the revenue of the whole estate; * so absurd and infamous were the measures pursued.

Amidst the general disorders and persecution of their country, one resource was still open to the gentry, viz. the capital. There, lost among the crowd, they hoped to escape by their insignificance, and peaceably to eat, in some obscure corner, the sorrowful morsel of bread which they still retained; but such was not to be the case.

It appears that every effort was made to enforce their emigration, and many are of opinion that it was the intention of the National Assembly to seize all their property. The devoted victims were obliged to quit Paris within a given time. In the morning they saw their hotels marked with red or black, the signals of intended fire or murder. It was then that they found themselves in a situation so horrible that I should in vain attempt to describe it. Whither could they fly—where conceal themselves? Reduced to the lowest state of misery, though still full of love for their country, they were seen returning on foot, by the great roads, to the provincial towns, where, being better known, they experienced all that the most refined hatred could inflict. Some went back to the ruins of their houses, lately a prey to the

* This happened to the mother of the author. To pay the taxes of 1791, she was obliged to add six thousand livres from her pocket to the revenue of the taxed estate.

flames, where they were seized and assassinated. Some were roasted alive in the presence of their families, as was the case during the reign of John ; others saw their wives violated with inhuman barbarity. In vain did the unfortunate surviving gentlemen exclaim, “ We are patriots—we yield to you our property, our clothes, our dwellings.” These observations only caused an increase of rage and insult. Despair took possession of their minds, and they emigrated.

Such are some of the unanswerable reasons why emigration took place ; and in the very step itself I discover the true reasons of the calumny which has been so lavishly heaped on the emigrants. When men have committed or wish to commit an act of injustice, they begin by accusing the victim. At Carthage, when they threw children upon the burning pile, they did it amidst the sound of drums and trumpets.

CHAP. XLVI.

Fall of Dionysius the Younger at Syracuse.

OTHER events summon us to Syracuse. After having been long engaged in considering republics, we now proceed to the examination of monarchies. The same passions, however, the same vices and virtues will still be found, though under different appellations. The royal crown, the mitre of religion and the cap of liberty may more or less de-

form the heads of mankind, but their hearts remain always the same.

At the time that tyranny had crept into Athens, it had also raised its standard in Sicily. Dionysius the elder, after having usurped the sovereign authority by a stratagem, had maintained his power for thirty-eight years by his vices and his virtues. Through the former he exterminated his enemies, through the latter he rendered his yoke supportable. In this he resembled Augustus—he proscribed and reigned.

At his death his son succeeded to the crown. Being a man of moderation, he was only distinguished from the crowd by the dress which he wore, and the rank in which Fate had placed him. Like many other princes of the old and new world, he was a good kind of young man, who knew how to make love to a pretty girl, drink Chio wine, and laugh with a good grace. He thought that to be called Dionysius, and to do no one any harm, were sufficient qualifications for the head of a nation.

Dionysius would have found it very pleasant to act the part of a king in this manner, and perhaps the people would have suffered it, but unfortunately the young prince had an uncle, who was a philosopher.*

* In reading ancient history we should take particular care not to be led away by enthusiasm. There are always many circumstances which may be opposed to the exalted ideas formed of

Dion fell into one great error ; he mistook the genius of Dionysius. Being himself fond of phi-

the Greeks and Romans. Dion was doubtless a great man, but according to the account of Plato himself, he had many failings. Cicero speaks thus of Pompey in his epistles to Atticus : “ Tuus autem ille amicus, nos, ut ostendit, admodum diligit, amplectitur, amat, aperte laudat ; occulte, sed ita, ut perspicuum sit, invidet, nihil come, nihil simplex, nihil *εν τοις, πολιτικοις* honestum (*in reb. quæ sunt reip*) nihil illustre, nihil forte, nihil liberum.” This is the same man for whom the same Cicero wrote his oration *pro lege Maniliâ*. The famous Brutus too, the virtuous rигicide, of whom Plutarch and several others have left behind them such lofty praises, was probably the assassin of his own father. He had lent money to the inhabitants of Salamis, and he wished Cicero to enforce the payment of interest on this sum, by the unfortunate citizens, at the rate of four per cent. per month, while the greatest usurers, says the Roman orator, who justly revolted at the proposition, were satisfied with one per cent. Brutus infused into his solicitations upon this subject all the warmth and bitterness of a dishonest man ; nay, he at length tried to appoint to the prefecture a wretch, who had kept the senators of Salamis in confinement for the debt, under a guard of cavalry, till three hundred of them died of hunger ; and Brutus hoped that a second execution would effect the payment of his money. “ I am sorry,” adds Cicero, “ to find your friend (Brutus) so unlike the man I thought him.” This anecdote is mentioned in the epistles of Cicero to Atticus already alluded to. It is but little known, and deserves to stand on record. The conduct of Brutus is the more odious from his having claimed this money in the name of two friends, though it belonged in reality to him.

As to the worthy Cicero himself, his own works, and his life, written by Plutarch, make us well acquainted with his weaknesses. It is amusing to see how Cæsar wrote to him on the subject of the civil wars. “ My dear Cicero,” says the tyrant, “ keep quiet. A good citizen, like you, ought not to meddle

losophy, he fancied that every one must have as great a taste for it as he had. He would have forced the tyrant of Sicily to elevate himself above the bounds which nature had prescribed to him, and by this attempt put a thousand indigested ideas into the young man's head, thereby perhaps creating vices, the seeds of which were not previously in his heart. To form a correct judgment of a person, and of the language in which he should be addressed, is an art of very difficult attainment. A man of superior mind is too much

with public affairs." Cicero was vexed at this. "What will become of me, my dear Atticus, if I should be arrested with my factors? Great Gods! What bad tidings are abroad! Would I were at my villa of Tusculum! But it is my wish to retire to one of the Greek islands. Anthony will not allow it. What can I do? &c. &c." He wrote a letter to Anthony, who arrived in a litter with three players; he afterwards delivered his philippics, and Anthony shewed the unfortunate epistle. As to Cæsar, he made no secret of his vices. The proclamation of his colleague Bibulus: "*Bythinicam reginam eique regem antea fuisse cordi, nunc esse regnum,*" and the verses of the soldiers,

"*Gallias Cæsar subegit, Nicomedes Cæsarem.*

"*Ecce Cæsar nunc triumphat qui subegit Gallias;*

"*Nicomedes non triumphat, qui subegit Cæsarem—*"

sufficiently explain the disorders of *the Queen of Bythia*. Augustus, after having proscribed his fellow citizens in his youth, and obliged father and son to die by the hand of each other, caused the young virgins of his dominions to be brought to him in his old age.—Such were the great men of Rome. I do not speak of Nero and Tiberius. It appears, however, singular that Suetonius gives no account of what Tacitus mentions as to the incestuous connexion of Agrippina with her son, because he was so fond of relating such anecdotes.

inclined to suppose that others possess the qualities which he feels inherent in himself; and continues to communicate his ideas without perceiving that he is not understood. It is absolutely necessary that a man of genius should make a sacrifice to folly. Somebody once told me that he was prodigiously sought after by society, because he was always a completer cypher than his neighbour.

At the time of which we are speaking, the reputation of Plato had spread throughout all Greece. Dion persuaded Dionysius to invite the philosopher to Sicily, and the latter, after some difficulties, consented to come for the purpose of giving some lessons to the young prince. The court was soon transformed into an academy. From night to morning Dionysius argued about the best and worst species of government; but he ceased at length to confuse himself by a subject which he did not understand. The courtiers murmured; the soldiers cared but little for *the world of ideas*, and philosophic virtue was of too chaste a description for the tyrant. Dion was banished, and Plato joined him shortly afterwards in Greece.

Scarcely had the moralist quitted Syracuse, when Dionysius felt an ardent desire to recal him. The desires of monarchs are absolute wants. On this occasion the philosophers of Great Greece were obliged to engage their words to the old sage of the academy, as sureties for his safety. There is something which affects us, and creates a feeling

of respect, when we contemplate the interest thus taken by all the philosophers in the welfare of one of their body. At the time that Jean Jacques Rousseau fled from one country to another, the learned men of France, England* and Italy, cared little about it.

When Plato returned to the tyrant's court, he wished to obtain the recal of Dion, but in vain. Dionysius not only continued inexorable, but, under a frivolous pretext, confiscated his uncle's estates, which he had till then respected. The philosopher, piqued at the injustice done to his friend, asked permission to retire, which with much trouble he obtained. The prince being thus left with his vices and his courtiers as companions, plunged into the excesses of despotism and debauchery. The measure of calamities, which the people had to endure, was filled to the brim, and the hour of vengeance approached.

Dion, being despoiled of his property, and wounded to the very heart by a divorce from his wife, whom Dionysius had given in marriage to one of his favourites, resolved to rescue Sicily from the tyrant's domination. He put to sea with two vessels and eight hundred men, for the purpose of attacking a prince who possessed fleets

* It would be unjust to forget that Hume received Jean Jacques Rousseau with hospitality, that he found in the Duke of Portland the protection of a Mecænas and the enlightened mind of a philosopher, and that his Britannic Majesty himself granted an honourable pension to the illustrious refugee.

and armies *; but his calculations were made on the vices of the king, and the inconstancy of the people, nor was he deceived in them.

* But Dionysius was then without finances, a grand cause of revolutions. As to paper money, the use of it has always been calamitous. France affords a striking example of this; and America had before been desolated by the same scourge. In 1775 Congress decreed that bills of credit should be issued to the amount of two million dollars, and that they should be gradually withdrawn from circulation by taxes, the first recal being fixed for the 30th Nov. 1779. Several other amounts were afterwards issued, and in the month of February 1776, there were already bills for twenty millions of dollars in circulation through the United States.

The enthusiasm of the people kept them for some time at par; but interest at length prevailing over patriotism, they began to sink in value. Congress still continuing to issue paper, the sum total soon amounted to two hundred million dollars. Besides this enormous mass, each State had its individual bills, as the departments of France had their petty *assignats*. In 1779 the bills were at a discount of 27 or 28 per cent. and Congress had recourse to an expedient, which the Convention of France afterwards adopted. This was to substitute new paper for the old. The latter was to be gradually burnt as the former was issued, in the proportion of one to twenty; so that two hundred millions in *continental* bills, were to be paid for by ten millions. The experiment was unsuccessful, and the paper continued to fall in value more and more. Congress then put in practice all the means to favour their bills, which the French revolutionists of France had recourse to for the support of their *assignats*. It fixed a maximum price of commodities and labour. Debts, contracted in money, were declared to be payable in paper. Other laws forced the merchant to receive bills at their nominal value, and to sell at the same rate for paper as for money. The property of the royalists was sold by auction. The effect of these coercive measures was to create general poverty, to ruin the

All succeeded. Dionysius was absent, and the Syracusans rose. Dion entered the city, and proclaimed the re-establishment of the republic. The tyrant hastened to give battle on receiving this intelligence, and was defeated. After several negotiations he retired to Italy, leaving the citadel, which he had been fortunate enough to secure, in the hands of his son.

Meanwhile division prevailed in the city. Some supported Dion their liberator; others were attached to Heraclides, who proposed popular measures. The latter prevailed, and Dion, pursued by the most ungrateful of all mankind, was obliged to retire with a small number of faithful friends, amidst a furious populace ready to tear him in pieces.

rich, and to disseminate immorality. It became necessary to revoke these decrees; the bills lost a hundred for one in 1781, and finally disappeared from circulation.

Bankruptcy ensued. It is an extraordinary circumstance, but fully proved, that the fall of paper money has never effected any important movement in a state; for which several reasons may be given. When paper is first issued, it generally maintains its full value. He, who receives it at that time, far from experiencing any loss, is often a gainer by it. When the bill falls into discredit, it has passed into other hands. The person who received it at a loss, pays it to another with the same loss, and it continues to be thus circulated, paid and received, according to the regular rate of exchange; so that by passing from one to another, the diminution takes place insensibly. No one suffers considerably but the creditor, who possesses the bill at the time that the paper currency expires. As to the state, property has only changed hands, and the same quantity of it exists as before, so that the equilibrium is preserved.

This great patriot had scarcely abandoned Syracuse, when the party of Dionysius, which had been hitherto blockaded in the citadel, made a vigorous sortie, and forced the lines of the besiegers. The affrighted citizens sent an humble deputation to Dion, and he had the magnanimity to return to their relief.

He advanced at midnight towards the capital, when he suddenly received couriers with orders to retreat again. The troops of Dionysius had returned into the citadel, the dastardly people had resumed their audacious confidence; and the party of Heraclides, having seized the gates of the city, intended to dispute the entrance of Dion's followers.

A hollow sound now gradually approached, and was succeeded by frightful cries. Confused and piercing lamentations were from time to time interrupted by pauses of awful silence, during which a solitary moaning voice was heard, as if proceeding from some person murdered in a bye-way. At last, all the terrific shouts of a city in a state of insurrection and a prey to the enemy, ascended to heaven.

A general conflagration displayed to view the horrors of this night, which none but the pencil of a Virgil * could pourtray. The scarlet tints of

* The description, which historians have left us of the great fire at Syracuse, so closely resembles that of Troy, as related by Virgil, that I conceive the poet (whose accuracy of description is well known, who passed part of his life in sight of

the flitting clouds announced to Dion, who was still at a distance in the country*, the destruction of Syracuse. A messenger arrived in haste, and informed the troops of the philosophic warrior that the garrison had made a second sortie from the citadel, had murdered the women, children and old people, and had set fire to the city; adding that even the party of Heraclides intreated Dion to hasten his march, and stifle, at this moment of general danger, all resentment of past injuries.

Dion did not hesitate, but entered Syracuse with his little band of heroes amidst the acclamations of the citizens, who prostrated themselves at his feet, and regarded him not as a man but a god, who could act thus after their ingratitude. The patriot philosopher advanced through the streets amidst a thousand dangers, over the dead bodies of massacred inhabitants, through crackling flames and broken walls; at one time enveloped in clouds of smoke and glowing ashes; at another exposed to injury from roofs and blazing timber, which fell with a continued crash around him.

At length he reached the citadel, where the tyrant's troops were drawn up in order of battle.

Sicily, and must have constantly borne its history in mind) possibly borrowed several particulars of this event for the second book of his *Eneid*. At least, we can hardly suppose that the historians, who wrote after him, imitated his epic poem in their description.

* About two leagues from the city.

He attacked them, and forced them to take shelter in their hiding place, from which they never issued again till they surrendered the fortress by capitulation to the citizens of Syracuse.

Dion had re-established tranquillity in his native land, but did not long enjoy the fruits of his labour *. He was assassinated, after having himself been guilty of murder. Callippus, the assassin, was expelled in his turn by the brother of Dionysius, and Dionysius himself, emerging from his retreat after an interregnum of ten years, re-ascended the throne.

Plato understood the nature of his cotemporaries better than Dion did, and predicted that he would only produce evil without being eventually successful. The attempt to bestow republican liberty on a people devoid of virtue, is an absurdity. You lead them from misfortune to misfortune, and tyranny to tyranny, without procuring them independence. It appears to me that there exists a peculiar government, which is natural, as it were, to each age of a nation; perfect liberty for savages, a royal republic for the pastoral times,

* Dion had agreed with the Platonic philosophers to undertake the establishment of one of those ideal republics in Sicily, which do so much mischief to mankind. It is perhaps the only time that an attempt was made to frame the government of a nation upon principles purely abstract. The French wished to do the same in our days; but neither Dion nor the theorists of France succeeded, because the morals of their respective nations were corrupted. It is almost incredible how much the philosophic age of Alexander resembled ours.

democracy in the age of social virtues, aristocracy when morals are relaxed, monarchy in the age of luxury, and despotism in that of corruption. Hence it follows, that when you attempt to give a nation the constitution which is not proper for it, you throw it into agitation without effecting your object, and sooner or later it returns to the *régime* which suits it, by the mere force of circumstances. This is the reason why so many pretended republics are so suddenly transformed into monarchies without our well knowing why. From certain principles ensue certain consequences; from certain morals correspondent governments. If wicked men overthrow a state, whatever may be their pretext, despotism will be the result. Tyrants are the punishment of guilty revolutions.

Dionysius remained only two years in possession of his authority, when the untractable Syracusans again dethroned him. They summoned to their aid a neighbouring tyrant called Icetas, who, far from fighting in behalf of the liberty of Sicily, wished only to substitute himself for Dionysius, and secretly treated with the Carthaginians. The Punic fleet soon appeared in sight of the port. The ancient tyrant was then in the citadel, where he was defending himself against the new ruler of the city. Thus situated, the oppressed citizens sent to ask the assistance of Corinth, as their mother country, both against Dionysius and Icetas, as well as the Allies of the latter. The Corinthians, affected by the misfortune of their

ancient colony, dispatched Timoleon with ten vessels. This great man landed in Sicily, and gained an advantage over Icetas. Dionysius, seeing that his hopes were frustrated, surrendered to the Corinthian general, who sent to Greece, in a galley without any suite, and with only a small sum of money, the man who had possessed fleets, treasures, palaces, slaves, and one of the finest kingdoms of antiquity.

Soon afterwards Timoleon became master of Syracuse, defeated the Carthaginians, and called on the people to confirm their independence by demolishing the citadel of the tyrants. The Syracusans fell upon this monument of slavery, and levelled it with the earth; they even penetrated into the sepulchres of the despots and scattered their bones over the plains, as we suspend in harvest the bodies of voracious birds to frighten their species away. Tribunals of national justice were erected on the very scite of the fortress, from which the arbitrary mandates of kings had been issued. Their statues were publicly condemned and ordered to be sold, with the exception of one only—that of Gelon. The worthy and patriotic Henry IV. who was not an usurper like Gelon, did not escape the republicans of France. The ancients respected virtue even in their enemies, and those, who granted the honours of sepulture to the foreigner Mardonius, would not have left the remains of Turenne amidst an osteology of monkeys. We have been raising

ourselves on tiptoe for the purpose of imitating the giants of Greece, but we shall never be otherwise than dwarfs.

CHAP. XLVII.

Dionysius at Corinth, and the Bourbons.

On the arrival of Dionysius at Corinth, all crowded to obtain the gratifying sight of a monarch in adversity. We do not so much love liberty as we hate the great; because we cannot endure the happiness of others, and imagine that the great are happy. As kings appear to be of a species distinct from the rest of the human race, they do not obtain a tear of pity in the day of affliction. "That is the man," says every one to himself, "who commanded other men, and who could in a moment have deprived me of liberty or life." Always mean in our propensities, we crouch at the feet of princes when in their glory, and fly in their faces when they are fallen.

What should Dionysius have done in his distress? He should have known that the tiger of the desert is less to be feared by the wretched than society. He should have retired into some wild place to lament his past errors, and above all, to conceal his tears.

The Prince of Syracuse afforded an important lesson to the Corinthians, and strangers came in great numbers to behold the extraordinary sight. The miserable king was in tatters, and passed his

time in the public squares, or at the doors of taverns, where he received, from the compassionate, remains of wine and broken victuals. The populace assembled round him, and Dionysius degraded himself so far as to amuse them with jokes. He afterwards repaired to the shops of perfumers, or visited the female singers, heard them rehearse the parts they had to perform, and argued with them on the rules of music. Ere long he was obliged, for the purpose of avoiding death from hunger, to teach grammar in the suburbs to the children of people in low circumstances, and even this was not the lowest degradation to which fortune reduced him.

Such unworthy conduct has led mankind to examine the causes of it. Cicero makes a cruel remark on the subject, when he says, that Dionysius wished to domineer over children, from an habitual love of tyranny. Justinus, on the contrary, believes he only acted thus in order that the Corinthians might not take any umbrage at him. Was it not rather despair which reduced the King of Syracuse to such grovelling conduct? By insulting a person, you may at last render him worthy of insult. When a wretch feels that his character is gone, and that even the pity of mankind is withdrawn, he plunges entirely into disgrace as into a species of death.

In spite of the mask of insensibility, which the monarch in Sicily wore upon his face, I doubt whether the corner of the public square, which

served for his bed during the night, and which he perhaps shared with some beggar of Corinth, was not moistened with tears. Several expressions, which escaped this prince, justify my conjecture.

Diogenes, meeting him one day said, "Thou hast not deserved such a fate!" Dionysius, mistaking the motive of this remark, and astonished at finding compassion among mankind, could not restrain an emotion of sensibility. He replied, "Thou dost pity me then? I thank thee!" The simplicity of this expression, which might have subdued even the soul of Diogenes, only irritated the ferocious cynic. "Pity thee!" exclaimed he; "thou deceivest thyself, slave! I am indignant at seeing thee in a city, where thou canst still enjoy some degree of happiness." God forbid that such philosophy as this should ever be mine!

On another occasion the same prince, being importuned by a man who oppressed him with indecent familiarities, tranquilly said, "Happy they who have learned to suffer!"

Sometimes he knew how to repel a gross insult by a severe retort. A Corinthian, who was suspected of being a pickpocket, shook his tunic as he approached, to shew that he did not conceal a *poniard*, which was the custom when approaching the tyrants. "Do that as you go away," said Dionysius to him.

Fortune, however, mixed some sweet ingredients in his bitter cup, but this was only to render the draught more nauseous. Dionysius obtained

permission to travel, and Philip received him in his kingdom with all the honours due to his rank. He had been a pedagogue at Corinth, a king again at the royal table of Macedonia, and was once more reduced to poverty. These strange vicissitudes might well teach the Prince of Sicily the folly of life, and the vanity of the characters which he had played. The father of Alexander, nevertheless, did himself honour by respecting the unfortunate ; though he could not refrain from saying to his guest, at first sight of him, with a degree of warmth, " How could you lose an empire which your father so long knew how to preserve ?"—" I inherited his power," replied Dionysius, " but not his fortune." This observation explains the history of the human race. One night, when the two tyrants were familiarly engaged in bacchanalian orgies, that of Greece asked that of Sicily, how long his father, Dionysius the elder, was employed in composing so great a number of poems ? " As long as you and I have employed ourselves in drinking," answered the dethroned king gaily.

Fate chose at last to terminate this great drama of the school of kings, by a *dénouement* not less extraordinary than its other scenes. Dionysius, reduced to the lowest degree of misery, or having lost his senses through chagrin, joined a body of priests in the service of Cybele, and a monarch of Syracuse was seen, with his lofty stature and half-closed eyes, passing through the

cities and towns of Greece, dancing and skipping while he struck the tabor, and then holding out his hand to those around, for the purpose of receiving their pitiful alms.

If I have seemed to dwell long upon the misfortunes of Dionysius, the reason is obvious. Besides the great lesson which they supply, Europe has before her eyes, at the moment I write this, a striking example, not of the same vices, but almost of the same adversity. The legitimate sovereign of France is now wandering through Europe at the mercy of mankind.

Though a flourishing kingdom, a numerous people, and illustrious birth, combine to increase the bitterness of the fate experienced by Louis, still he need not fear that he will, like the kings of antiquity, be reduced to the lowest degree of indigence. This difference is caused by the relative state of constitutions.—Among the ancients, a fugitive prince met with nothing but republics, the inhabitants of which exulted in his distress; whereas, in the modern world, he will at least find princes to supply him with the necessaries of life. Should the day arrive when Europe is converted into a democracy, the last of the dethroned monarchs will be as unfortunate as Dionysius.

From the first ages of the world to the period at which the Bourbons were expelled from France, history supplies a great number of fugitive princes, who were a prey to that grief which is the common lot of man. In ancient times, we

particularly observe the blind monarch who traversed Greece, leaning on Antigonus; Theseus, the legislator and defender of his country, who was banished by an ungrateful people; Orestes accompanied by a single friend; Idomeneus driven from Crete; Demaratus, king of Sparta, who retired to the court of Darius; Hippias, who died at the battle of Marathon while trying to recover his crown; Pausanias II. king of Sparta, condemned to death, and saved by flight; Dionysius at Corinth; Darius flying alone from Alexander, and assassinated by his courtiers; Cleomenes, the worthy successor of Agis, crucified in Egypt, to which he had retired; Antiochus Hierax, who took refuge at the court of Ptolemy, and was cast by him into a dungeon; Antiochus X. wandering among the Parthians and in Silesia; Mithridates seeking in vain for an asylum at the court of Tigranes, his son-in-law, and reduced so far as to poison himself; Tarquin driven from Rome by Brutus, and in vain raising all Italy in his behalf; with a crowd of monarchs in the two empires, whom it would be too tedious to enumerate. Among the modern nations, we observe in Africa Gelimer*, dethroned by the Vandals, and re-

* This history is affecting, and exhibits one of the most extraordinary sports of fortune. On the day after Gelimer secretly departed from Carthage, Belisarius dined in the palace of this prince of the Vandals, and was waited upon by that unfortunate monarch's slaves, feasting upon plate and the same viands which had been prepared for his repast. The fugitive king,

duced to cultivate a field with his own hands ; in Italy, Lamberg, the first fugitive prince of modern Europe ; Pietro de Medici, who, but for Philip de Comines, could not have effected his retreat to Venice ; the Emperor Henry IV. flying from his son ; the Count of Flanders pursued by Artavelle ; Charles V. of France, deprived of his rank by the faction of Charles of Navarre ; Charles VII. confined to his city of Orleans ; Henry VI. of England, dethroned, restored, and dethroned again ; Edward IV. wandering in the Low Countries, deprived of all support ; Henry IV. of France pursued by the league ; Charles II. of England obliged to sleep in an oak in his own states, while his family on the continent were obliged to remain in bed for want of fire ; Gustavus Vasa buried in the mines ; Stanislaus, king of Poland, escaping in disguise from his palace ; James II. finding refuge in France, but whose descendants had not a place on which they could rest their heads ; Maria carrying her son through the ranks of the Hungarians ; and, finally, the Bourbons terminating the list of illustrious sufferers. In this catalogue of misery, every one may satisfy the inclination of his heart. Envy may contemplate kings, Pity the unfortunate, and Philosophy mankind.

having afterwards fallen into the hands of the Roman general, was conducted to Constantinople, where he prostrated himself before Justinian, and had a small portion of land given to him in a corner of the empire.—*Procop. de Bel. Vand. lib.*

Thrice happy you, who look as from the shore,
And have no venture in the wreck you see !

He, who repeated these two lines, was not a favourite of prosperity. It was the unfortunate King Richard II. who, on the very morning that he was assassinated, cast his eye over the plain which adjoined his prison, and envied the shepherd whom he saw quietly seated in the valley with his flock.

There has been much disputation on the subject of misfortune, as on every other. I subjoin a few reflections, which I believe to be new.

How does misfortune act on mankind? Does it increase the energy of soul, or diminish it? If the former, why was Dionysius so dastardly? If the latter, why did the Queen of France display so much fortitude?

Does it assume the character of the victim? If so, why did Louis, who was so timid in the days of happiness, appear so courageous when adversity overtook him? And why did James II., who was so brave in prosperity, fly on the banks of the Boyne when he had nothing more to lose?

Does misfortune, then, transform mankind? Are we strong because we were weak, and weak because we were strong?

Against this position it may be stated that the pusillanimous Roman emperor, who concealed himself in a private corner of his palace at the moment of his death, had always been the same; and the

Briton, Caractacus, was as noble in the capital of the world as in his forests.

It appears, then, impossible to reason upon any certain datum as to the nature of misfortune. It is probable that it acts upon us by secret causes which bear reference to our habits and prejudices, and by the situation in which we find ourselves with relation to surrounding objects. Dionysius, who was so contemptible at Corinth, would perhaps have been a very great man in the hands of his subjects at Syracuse.

Let us, however, investigate the subject further. Having considered misfortune in itself, let us examine it as to its exterior relations.

The sight of distress causes different sensations in different persons. The great, that is to say, the rich, cannot behold it without extreme disgust. Nothing can be expected of them but insolent pity, presents, and a sort of politeness ten times worse than insult.

The merchant, if you enter his counting-house, will suddenly gather up the money which happens to be upon his desk. This mean proceeding confuses the unfortunate as much as the dishonest.

As to nations, they treat you according to their national bias. In Germany the unfortunate man meets with real hospitality; in Italy, with humiliation, but in some instances with delicate sensibility; in Spain, with disgraceful haughtiness, but sometimes with noble sympathy. The French

nation, in spite of its barbarity when assembled *en masse*, is the most charitable of all, and the most sensible of a fellow-creature's distress, because it is beyond contradiction the least fond of gold. Disinterestedness is a quality, which my countrymen eminently possess above all the other nations of Europe. Money is of no value to them, provided they have enough to live upon. In Holland, the unfortunate man experiences nothing but brutality; in England he is held in sovereign contempt; but though the individuals who constitute that nation are greedy of wealth, still they are equally generous, considered as a body. In fact, I do not know two nations more completely opposed to each other in genius, manners, virtues, and vices, than the English and French; with this difference, that the English generously acknowledge the French to possess several good qualities, whereas the latter deny merit to any but themselves.

Let us now examine whether we may not deduce from these observations some rules as to conduct in misfortune. I know three of these.

An unhappy man is an object of curiosity. We examine him; we like to touch the chord of his affliction, that we may enjoy the pleasure of studying his heart at the moment it is labouring under a convulsion of sorrow; like surgeons, who suspend animals in torments, for the purpose of examining the circulation of the blood and play of the organs. The first rule, then, is to conceal

his tears. Who can be interested by an account of his disasters? Some listen without understanding them, some with *ennui*, and all with malignity. Prosperity is a golden statue, the ears of which resemble those sounding galleries described by travellers; the lowest whisper is increased to an alarming report.

The second rule, which is derived from the first, consists in isolating himself entirely. Society should be avoided by the unfortunate person, because it is his natural enemy; for society lays it down as a maxim, that he who is distressed is culpable. I am so convinced of this social truth, that I scarcely ever walk in the street without holding down my head.

The third rule is unbending pride; for pride is the virtue of misfortune. The more fortune depresses us, the more we ought to exalt ourselves if we would preserve our character. We ought constantly to bear in mind, that it is every where the man's coat, and not himself, which is respected. It is of little importance that you are a knave if you are rich, or honest if poor. It is your relative situation in society which creates esteem, consideration, and virtue. As there is nothing intrinsic in birth, you were a king at Syracuse, and you become a miserable individual at Corinth. In the first situation, you should undervalue what you are; in the second, you should be proud of what you have been; not that in reality you are ignorant of its being a frivolous advan-

tage, but to avail yourself of it as a buckler against the scorn attached to the unfortunate.—We easily familiarize ourselves with the unhappy man; and he incessantly finds himself under the hard necessity of summoning the dignity of human nature, if he does not wish that others should forget it.

But, after all, what must he do to assuage his sorrow? This is the philosopher's stone; for the nature of misfortune not being perfectly known, the question remains insoluble. If we do not know the seat of the disease, how can we apply the remedy?

Several ancient and modern philosophers have written on this subject. Some propose reading, others virtue and courage. This is as much as if the physician said to the patient, "Get well."

There is a book truly useful to the miserable man, because he finds in it pity, tolerance, gentle indulgence, and consoling hope, which compose the only balm for the wounds of the soul—this book is the Gospel. Its divine author does not stop to give idle lectures to the unfortunate; he does more, he blesses their tears, and drinks the cup with them even to the lees.

There is no universal panacea for sorrow; it requires as many as there are individual sufferers. Besides, to reason too harshly only irritates the sufferer; like an unskilful nurse, who, in turning the agonized patient in his bed, to put him more at ease, only tortures him. It requires nothing less than the hand of a friend to dress the wounds

of the heart, and assist you in softly raising the stone which covers the tomb.

But if we are ignorant how misfortune acts, we at least know in what it consists—privation. This varies *ad infinitum*. One regrets a throne, another a fortune, a third a place, a fourth a fraud. It matters not; the effect upon them all is just the same. A friend said to me, “ I know of only one real misfortune, that of wanting bread. When a man has the means of life, clothes, a chamber, and a fire, other evils vanish. The want of absolute necessities is a frightful thing, because uneasiness for to-morrow embitters the present moment.”—My friend was right, but that does not decide the question; for what must he do to procure the means of satisfying his first wants? “ Work,” reply they who know nothing of the heart of man. We do not support adversity by such or such a principle, but according to our education, taste, character, and above all, our genius. One person, if he can gain a tolerable livelihood by any occupation, will scarcely perceive the change in his condition; while another, of a superior order, will regard it as the greatest of evils to be obliged to renounce the faculties of his soul, to associate with mechanics whose ideas are confined to the block which they saw, or to pass his days, in the age of reason and reflection, repeating words to the stupid children of his neighbour. Such a man would rather die of hunger, than procure the necessities of life. It is, there-

fore, not so easy to associate happiness and the satisfaction of our mere wants ; but it is not every one who will understand this.

Hence it appears that we are not competent judges of good and evil for others ; it does not consist in appearance but reality. I will, nevertheless, attempt to shew the course which may be pursued even by the most miserable. An unfortunate person, among the children of prosperity, is like a beggar walking in rags among a brilliant company ; every one looks at and avoids him. He should therefore absent himself from public places, keep out of all bustle, and appear seldom during the day, but principally at night. When twilight begins to confuse the appearance of objects, the unhappy man may venture from his retreat, and hastily traverse the frequented places, till he gains some solitary road, where he can wander at liberty. He may one day seat himself on the summit of a hill which commands the town and extent of country. He may contemplate the fires which shine at a distance through the obscure landscape under each social roof. He may hear, through the gate of some hotel, the merriment of its inhabitants, who are ignorant that he is a wretch, occupied only in surveying, from a distance, the light which shines upon their banquet—he who once had himself banquets and friends. His eyes may next wander to a little taper, shedding its feeble light in some small hut, and he will then exclaim, “ There I have brethren ! ”

At another time he may place himself in ambuscade, on some great road, there to examine those who pass by the light of the moon, without being perceived by them ; for should they see an unfortunate man, they may perhaps exclaim like the guards of the English doctor in the *Indian Cottage*, “ a Pariah, a Pariah !”

But the favourite object of his wanderings will perhaps be a wood of firs, at the distance of some miles from the town. There he will find peaceful associates, who are, like him, in search of silence and obscurity. These solitary sylvan people will kindly admit him into their republic, to which he will pay a slender tribute, thus endeavouring to requite, as far as he can, the hospitality which he experiences. When Fate throws us far from society, the superabundance of our own souls, for want of real objects, dwells on the mute order of creation, and we find in it a degree of pleasure which we never before suspected. A life, with nature for our companion, is truly gratifying. For my own part I have saved myself in solitude, far from the ocean of the world. I sometimes observe the storms with which it is agitated, like a man cast alone on a desert island, who experiences a secret pleasing melancholy, while he contemplates the waves breaking at a distance on the coast where he was wrecked. After the loss of our friends, if we do not sink under affliction, the heart has recourse to itself ; it forms the project of excluding every other sentiment, and living en-

tirely upon recollection. If it thereby becomes less fit for society, its sensibility on the other hand is materially increased. Misfortune is useful to us; for without it some of the tenderest faculties of the soul would remain inactive. Misfortune makes it an harmonious instrument, from which the least breath of air draws strains of indescribable sweetness. Let him, who labours under affliction, repair to some forest, and wander through its nodding shades; let him mount some hill, from which he can discern on one side the richly cultivated country, on another, the sun as he rises above the sparkling waves, changing their hue of green for fiery crimson. His sorrow will not be proof against such a spectacle as this; not that he will forget those whom he loved, for in that case his previous affliction would be preferable; but the recollection of them will mingle itself with the calmness inspired by the woods and skies, preserving its gentle influence, and losing nothing but its bitterness. Happy those who love nature! They, and they alone, will find her in the day of adversity.

Such is the first kind of pleasure which may be derived from misfortune; but there are several others. I would particularly recommend the study of botany as proper to calm the soul, by turning the eyes of the unhappy sufferer from the passions of mankind to the innocent race of plants. Furnished with his scissars and other requisites, let him wander along the ditches of any old road,

stopping at some ruined tower, some ancient mossy fountain, or the northern outskirts of a wood. At other times, if his place of residence allow it, let him traverse the beach, overspread with large flags and curling sea-weed of various colours. The lover of botany will be pleased to find the *Tulipa Silvestris*, which delights, like himself, in the most solitary shades, and he will be attached to those melancholy water-lilies, whose drooping heads hang over the current. He will be tenderly affected by the *Convolvulus*, surrounding with its pale blossoms the old decrepid alder, for he will think he sees some lovely girl, clasping with her alabaster arms her aged dying father. The prickly *Ulex*, covered with golden flowers and offering a secure asylum to the smaller birds, will exhibit to him power protecting the feeble. In the several species of thyme and calamint, which generously embellish an ungrateful soil with their perfumed verdure, he will recognize the symbol of a love for his country. Among the superior classes of vegetation, he will wander with pleasure among those trees, through which the moaning breeze imitates the sad sound of distant waves. He will be attached to that American tribe, which negligently hangs down its branches as if in sorrow, and particularly to that species of willow, which looks like some shepherd swain, with disordered tresses, weeping at the margin of a lake. In fact, he will select, in this delightful kingdom, those plants which,

by their habits and appearances, possess a secret sympathetic congeniality with his own feelings.*

Oh, with what delight will he, after such a ramble, re-enter his wretched dwelling, loaded with the spoils of the fields! As if fearful that some one should snatch away his treasure, he carefully shuts the door behind him, and sits down to analyze his collection, censuring or approving Tournefort, Linnæus, Vaillant, Jussieu, Solander and Du Bourg. But now night approaches; the noise begins to cease without his dwelling, and his heart beats at the prospect of the pleasure in reserve for it. A book, probably with some difficulty procured, is taken from the obscure corner, in which the precious companion was concealed, to occupy these silent hours. Near an humble fire, and with a trembling light, he sits without fear of interruption, and gives way to the tender emotion caused by the fictitious sorrows of Clementina, Eloisa, or Cecilia. Romances are the books of the unhappy. It is true that they nourish illusions, but are they more full of these than real life is?

If it be preferred, however, let some great truth, some real crime occupy the attention of

* I am sorry that it was not the Duchess of Portland's botanist, J. J. Rousseau, who gave the appellation to the shrub called *Portlandia*. The protectress, the protected, and the plant, would have imparted mutual charms to each other, and the gratitude of a great man would have lived eternally in the odour of a flower.

our recluse, for instance Agrippina murdered by her son. He will watch at the bedside of the ambitious Roman matron, who has now retired to an obscure chamber, hardly lighted by a small dim lamp. He sees the fallen empress reproach the only attendant who remains with her, and who afterwards forsakes her like the rest. He observes the anxiety every moment increasing upon the countenance of this unfortunate princess, who listens attentively whether any sound approaches through the vast solitude and silence round her. The hollow footsteps of assassins are at length heard—the outer gates are burst open. Agrippina starts, seats herself on the couch, and listens with greater eagerness. The noise increases—the murderers enter—they surround the bed—the centurion draws his sword and strikes the queen upon the temple.—“*Ventrem feri*,” exclaims the mother of Nero, an expression, the sublimity of which, strikes the mind so forcibly that the head involuntarily sinks.

Perhaps too, when all are asleep, between two and three o'clock in the morning, when winds are murmuring round his habitation and rain beating against the windows, the unfortunate man may employ himself in writing down what he knows of his fellow-creatures. He occupies an advantageous situation for the study, because he is out of their road, yet can watch them as they pass along it.

But after all, we must revert to what was before advanced, that without the absolute necessities of

life there is no remedy for our evils. Otway, when he begged the morsel of bread which choked him, and Gilbert, when oppressed by the idea of being consigned to a hospital, bitterly felt, though men of letters, the whole vanity of philosophy.

CHAP. XLVIII.

The Condemnation of Agis at Sparta.

THE revolution of the Thirty Tyrants at Athens was attended with disastrous consequences to the imprudent republic, which had favoured it. When Lysander caused the gold and silver of Attica to be carried to Lacedæmon, he introduced the vices of the latter country into his own. Simplicity of manners was soon reckoned vulgarity; frugality was deemed folly, and honesty nonsense. Epitades, one of the Ephori, having published a law, by which children might alienate the property of their parents, all estates found their way into the hands of the rich; and the Spartans, among whom such an equality of rank and fortune had hitherto prevailed, were divided into a vile band of slaves and masters.

Such was the state of the republic of Lycurgus, when there arose at Lacedæmon a king worthy of the great ages of Greece. Agis, inspired by the charms of virtue, undertook, at an age when most men are hardly yet conscious of existence, to re-establish the laws and morals of ancient Laconia.

He disclosed his designs to the youth of Lacedæmon, whom he found, contrary to his expectation, more disposed to favour his undertaking than the old people. The same observation was made in France at the commencement of the revolution. There is, in the early stages of life, a generous warmth which leads us towards what is praiseworthy, provided society has not yet dissipated the gentle illusion of virtue. The King of Lacedæmon succeeded in gaining to his interest three great men, Lysander, Mandroclides, and Agesilaus; he also enlisted his mother Agesistrata in his cause.

Every thing seemed to favour the enterprise. Lysander had been appointed one of the Ephori; King Leonidas had been forced to fly, after a fruitless opposition to the projects of his colleague Agis; and his son-in-law Cleombratus had been chosen in his place. Nothing was now necessary but to proceed to the partition of estates, when Agesilaus, who had hitherto favoured the revolution, betrayed the cause of his party, and changed the course of events.

This Spartan possessed a large property, but was nevertheless deeply involved in debt. He embraced with eagerness the opportunity of emancipating himself, but when the reform extended to his own estates he no longer wished for it. Having had the address to effect his own appointment as one of the Ephori, and Agis being absent, he put in practice a thousand acts of tyranny. The ci-

tizens, seeing themselves thus sported with by Agesilaus, and believing that the young king had a secret understanding with him, combined together as secretly, and recalled the exiled monarch, Leonidas, whose place Cleombratus occupied.

Meanwhile Agis was on his return to Lacedæmon; but Leonidas soon entered the city in triumph, and no resource remained for the former and Cleombratus but to avoid its vengeance, and that of the faction of the rich, which was now become all powerful. The latter repaired, as a suppliant, to the temple of Neptune, and being soon afterwards saved by the virtue of his wife, was only condemned to exile. Such was not the fate of the unfortunate young prince Agis, who took refuge in the temple of Minerva. I will quote Amyot's account.

“ Leonidas, having thus driven Cleombratus from the city, and substituted other Ephori for those whom he had deposed, directly thought of the means by which he could obtain possession of Agis. He first endeavoured to induce that prince to quit the sanctuary of the temple, stating that he should securely share with him the regal power, and giving him to understand that the citizens forgave all he had done, because they well knew that he had been deceived and circumvented by Agesilaus, though he himself was a man of honour. Agis, however, refused to quit the sanctuary, having great suspicions that these declarations, on the part of Leonidas, were only specious

impositions to draw him into ruin ; but Amphares, Demochares and Agesilaus often went to visit and converse with him. Sometimes indeed they led him to the baths, and when he had bathed himself, accompanied him back to the sanctuary of the temple, for they were his familiar friends. Now it happened that Amphares had lately borrowed of Agesistrata some valuable furniture, such as tapestry and silver vessels ; and he undertook to betray Agis, his mother and grandmother, hoping that he should thus become possessed of the borrowed articles as his own property. It is also said to have been this man, who more than any other influenced Leonidas, and irritated the Ephori against Agis. As the latter, therefore, was accustomed always to remain within the temple, except when he occasionally went to the baths, they proposed to surprise him when he was not within the limits of the sanctuary. His supposed friends called on him one day, greeted him, offered as usual to accompany him to the baths, and interchanged merry observations with him, as with a young man, who was their intimate acquaintance ; but when they were passing through a narrow crooked lane not far from the prison, Amphares, who was a magistrate, laid his hand upon him and said : “ Agis, thou art my prisoner, and I shall take thee before the Ephori, to give an account of the innovations thou hast made in public affairs.” Demochares, who was a great and powerful man, then immediately threw his

cloak over the prince's head, and drew him along, while the others forced him forward from behind, as they had agreed together. Thus, there being no one near to assist him, they dragged him to prison, and Leonidas soon arrived with a body of troops, who surrounded it. The Ephori entered the prison, and sent in search of those senators, whom they knew to be inclined the same way as themselves. A form of process was drawn up, and Agis was commanded to say why he had caused such confusion in the administration of public affairs. The young man laughed at their dissimulation, but Amphares told him this was not a time to laugh, and said he ought to suffer for his rash folly. Another of the Ephori, pretending to favour him and to point out an expedient by which he might escape this criminal process, asked whether he had not been seduced or compelled to act thus by Agesilaus and Lysander. Agis replied that he had been neither seduced nor compelled by any one, but that he had solely taken the ancient legislator Lycurgus for his guide, and wished to restore the state of public affairs sanctioned by that great man. The same member of the Ephori then asked whether he repented what he had done. Agis answered that he should never repent any undertaking of so wise and virtuous a nature, even if he saw certain death before his eyes. He was then condemned to die, and the officers of justice were ordered to lead him into the *Decade*, which was a certain part of the prison where those

were strangled, who had sentence of death passed upon them in a court of justice. Demochares, seeing that the officers dared not lay hands on him, and finding it probable that foreign troops would shrink with horror from such an execution, as contrary to all rights divine and human, which forbade that they should attack the person of a king, used menaces and reproaches towards those who refused to act, and himself dragged Agis into the interior of the jail. Many persons, however, had heard the voice of the prince, and there was a great tumult at the gate of the prison. Torches were displayed, the mother and grandmother of Agis appeared, demanding that the king of Sparta should have justice, and be tried by his citizens. This only hastened the execution of the prince, for his enemies were afraid that their victim might be rescued, if a greater concourse of people took place. Agis, as he was led to death, observed that one of the officers of justice was in tears, and said to him: "My friend, do not distress me by your compassion, for I am a more enviable man than any of those who so wickedly sacrifice me." Saying these words, he voluntarily submitted his neck to the cord. In the mean time Amphares had left the prison, and found at the gate Agesistrata, the mother of Agis, who threw herself at his feet. He raised her with the friendly familiarity which existed between them, and assured her that no violence would be offered to Agis; nay, that she might even go and see him if such were her plea-

sure. She intreated that her mother might accompany her, to which Amphares replied that there was no objection. He conducted them into the prison, and ordered the doors to be shut behind them. He then delivered the old matron Archimadia, into the hands of the executioner—a woman who had attained extreme old age, and had lived in greater dignity and honour than any other lady of the city. No sooner was she dispatched than Agesistrata was ordered to enter the place, where she beheld the dead body of her son stretched on the earth, and her mother suspended from the gallows in the agonies of death. She immediately assisted the executioners in completing their cruel office, and having covered the body of her son, threw herself close to it, kissed his face, and exclaimed: “Alas! thy too great goodness, gentleness, and clemency, my son, are the cause of thy death and ours.” Amphares, who stood at the door watching what passed within, heard what she said, and furiously approaching, called to her: “And as thou didst assent to the conduct pursued by thy son, thou shalt undergo the same punishment.” Agesistrata raised herself to meet her fate, and exclaimed: “may it be at least of service to Sparta!” This transaction soon became public, when the three bodies were carried out of the prison; and the magistrates were not more alarmed than the citizens were exasperated. Deadly hatred was declared against Leonidas and Amphares, for having committed an

act of atrocity, more cruel, infamous, and damnable than had been perpetrated since the Dorians inhabited the Pelopennesus; for the enemies of Lacedæmon did not even in battle willingly assail her kings, but turned aside if possible, from the fear and reverence which majesty inspired. It is certain that Agis was the first monarch whose death the Ephori caused, for having wished to effect reforms which tended to establish the glory and dignity of Sparta. He was at an age too when the failings of mankind obtain a ready pardon, and his friends had more reason to complain of him than his enemies; for he saved the life of Leonidas, and acted towards all like the gentlest and most humane prince that ever lived.”

In this affecting narrative the reader may have discovered several circumstances similar to those which accompanied the death of Louis, viz. the refusal of an appeal to the people, the injustice and incompetency of the members who constituted the tribunal, &c. I will rapidly sketch the condemnation of Charles I. King of England, and Louis XVI. King of France; thus collecting into one point of view the three greatest events of history.

The grand project of bringing Charles to trial had long been formed in the secret council of Cromwell;* but whether it was that he could not ob-

* The religious farces, of which this great man made use, in order to authorize his crime, are well known. I have in my

tain the authority of parliament for his design, while that body was still entire, or whether he was

possession a collection of pamphlets, published in Cromwell's time, in three large octavo volumes. It is almost impossible to wade through them, so disgusting are they, and so devoid of truth; but at the same time they exhibit, in a striking manner, the spirit of the times, and the misfortunes of the age during which they were written. They are principally political sermons, abounding with most incredible absurdities. I will quote the titles of some of these strange revolutionary productions, for the amusement of the reader.

A Tender Visitation of the Father's Love to all the Elect-Children: or an Epistle upon the Righteous Congregation, who in the Light are gathered and are Worshippers of the Father in Spirit and Truth.

A Few Words of Tender Council unto the Pope, with all that walk that way.

An Alarm to all Flesh, with an Invitation to the True Seeker.

An Alarm to all Flesh, &c.

"Howle, howle, shriek, bawl, and roar, ye lustful, cursing, swearing, drunken, lewd, superstitious, devilish, sensual, earthly inhabitants of the whole Earthe; bow, bow, you most surly trees and lofty oaks; ye tall cedars and low shrubs, cry out aloud; hear, hear ye, proud waves and boistrous seas, also listen, ye uncircumcised, stiff necked and mad ranging bubbles, who even hate to be reformed.

"In the name of the Lord God of Gods, King of Kings, hear, hear, repent, repent forthwith, repent; for be as sure as the Lord liveth you shall feel. . . . the irresistible and the mighty hand of the All-Mighty. . . . for behold his invincible, glittering invisible sword is on his thigh. . . . then shall the Bashan Oaks, Ishmaels and Diveses of this generation, roar and reel, yea shake and quake, look upward and downward, and curse their leaders and their God which now is their lust, bellies, superstitions and pleasures. Horror shall lay hold on their right, and terror shall seize on their left hand; every man's hands shall be upon his

influenced by other motives, the execution of his purpose had been suspended. No sooner were the Commons, however, reduced to a small number of wretches, who were devoted to the tyrant's interest, than it became easy for him to bring about the tragic and appalling event.

A committee was appointed to inquire into the conduct of his Britannic Majesty; and on receiving its report, the lower house named a high court

loyns, and the cry shall be "who will shew us any good?" And an unparalleled dart of amazement shall pierce quite through the liver of the Champion," &c.

The rest of these pieces are of a similar nature. I am sorry that the author of such a work should have concealed his name; for it was not one George Fox, who cuts a great figure in the collection.

I will finish this note with some lines by a young quaker, from the same publication. The fine arts here are combined with sound logic.

Dear Friend, J. C. with true unfeigned love

I thee salute.....

.....

Feel me, dear Friend, a member jointly knit

To all in Christ, in heavenly places sit;

And there to friends no stranger would I be

Though, they, my face, as outward ne'er did see.

For truly, Friend, I dearly love and own

All travelling souls, who truly sigh and groan

For the adoption, which sets free from sin, &c.

Such men as these are admirably described by Butler; especially in the second Canto of the third part of *Hudibras*, where he sketches, with the hand of a master, his small, but striking picture of Cromwell's revolution. Literary epicures ought not to lose this dainty morsel, which is too long to be quoted.

of justice, consisting of a hundred and thirty-three members, to try Charles Stuart, King of England, for acts of treason against the nation. Cromwell and Ireton were among the judges; Cook was the accuser, in the name of the nation; and Bradshaw was president of the tribunal.

The bill was thrown out by the Peers, but the Commons, nevertheless, proceeded; and Colonel Harrison, who was the son of a butcher, and the most furious demagogue in England, received orders to conduct his sovereign to London.

The court assembled at Westminster. Charles appeared in this cavern of death amidst his assassins, with hair grown white through misfortune, and with the serenity of innocence*. Having been accustomed, during eighteen months, to ruminate on the deceptive scenes of life in the gloom of a solitary prison, he no longer hoped for any thing from mankind, and appeared before his judges in all the splendour of misfortune. It would be difficult to imagine conduct more noble and affecting than he displayed. An ordinary prince was become a magnanimous monarch; and he refused with indignity to acknowledge the authority of the court. He was thrice brought before

* Charles was undoubtedly not altogether innocent, but was innocent so far as regarded the crime of which he was accused; and the judges who passed sentence on him, were not competent to hold their office, as it is proved by the authors of two works, entitled *The Detection of the Court*, and *The History of Independency*.

his executioners, and thrice displayed the talents of a superior man, the majesty of a sovereign, and the calmness of a hero. He was doomed to undergo indignities and pangs of various kinds. The soldiers demanded his death, with loud cries, and even spit in his face; but the people shed floods of tears, and called down blessings on him. Charles was of too lofty a nature to be moved by the atrocious insults of the former, but of too tender a one not to be affected by the testimonies of affection shewn by the latter. The hearts of the unfortunate are not touched by outrages, but by marks of benevolence.*

At the fourth examination, the judges condemned Charles Stuart, King of England, to suffer death as a traitor, assassin, tyrant, and enemy of the republic. He was allowed three days to prepare himself for his fate.

* "O Lord let the voice of his blood (Christ) be heard for my murderers, louder than the cry of mine against them. O deal not with them as blood-thirsty and deceitful men, but overcome their cruelty with thy compassion and my charity." *Icon Basilike*, p. 269. Such were the wishes of the unfortunate Charles, with regard to his cruel enemies. The *Icon*, and *Testament of Louis* have created more royalists than the edicts of these princes would have made in all their prosperity. Posthumous writings interest us. It appears as if a voice spoke from the tomb; and the effect is prodigious, when such works discover to us the latent virtues of men whom we have persecuted, and make us feel the weight of our ingratitude. In spite of Milton's pleasantries, Burnet's silence, and the external evidence against the authenticity of the *Icon*, the internal proofs are so strong that I am persuaded, like Hume, it was written by the hand of Charles.

Of all the royal family, there were in England only the Princess Elizabeth and the Duke of Gloucester. Charles obtained permission to bid a last adieu to this amiable prince, who seemed, under the simple exterior of innocence, to have the sympathetic heart of a man. During the three days allowed before the execution, the intrepid monarch slept profoundly amidst the workmen who were making preparations for his last moment.

On the 30th of January 1649, the King of England was conducted to the scaffold erected in the sight of his palace; a refinement of barbarity which was not forgotten by the regicides of France. Care was taken to surround the place of sacrifice with a large body of soldiers, for fear that the victim's voice might reach the people, who were ranged at a distance in mournful silence. Charles perceiving that he could not make himself heard, wished at least when he died, to leave posterity an awful lesson. He acknowledged that the blood, which he had previously permitted to be shed, demanded blood in return. Having made this avowal, he resolutely laid down his head upon the block, and the executioner severed it from his body at a single blow.*

* The times in which we live, and the nature of my studies made me desirous to see the spot on which Charles I. was executed. I lived at that time in the Strand. After going through several unfrequented passages and obscure alleys, behind the houses, I arrived at the spot where a statue of Charles II. has, in a very impolitic manner, been erected. He is pointing with

Let us pass to the condemnation of Louis XVI.

The French monarchy no longer existed. The descendant of Henry IV. expected every moment that the regicides would consummate their crime, and the crime was resolved upon.

Of all the servants of Louis XVI. only one remained in Paris. This worthy old man, the most upright of his countrymen, as the revolutionists themselves allow, had remained at a distance from the court during the prosperity of the monarch. It was surely a noble sight to behold M. de Ma-

his right hand to the pavement stained with the blood of his father. On seeing the closed windows of Whitehall, and this place which is not a street, but forms with the adjoining buildings a kind of court, I felt my heart oppressed by a thousand sad sensations. I figured to myself a scaffold occupying the ground on which the statue stood ; the guards forming a square battalion, and the crowd at a distance trying to press forward. I seemed as it were, to behold the countenances of all present ; some agitated with ferocious joy, others by ambitious hopes, and the greatest number by terror and pity. Yet now, what calmness and solitude prevailed here, interrupted only by myself and some masons who were at work upon their stone, and carelessly whistling ! What is become of those celebrated men, who filled the earth with the fame of their exploits and crimes, tormenting each other, as if they had to exist for ever ? I was on the spot where one of the most memorable scenes of history had been acted, and what vestige of it remained ? It is thus that in a few years the stranger will ask for the place where Louis XVI. perished ; and generations, indifferent to the circumstance, will hardly be able to inform him. I regained my apartment, full of philosophic melancholy, and more than ever convinced by my pilgrimage, of the vanity of life, and of the little, very little importance attached to its greatest events.

lesherbes, dignified by passing through seventy-two years of probity, repair not to the palace of Versailles, but to the prisons of the Temple, for the purpose of defending alone the unfortunate sovereign, when his flatterers and guards had disappeared. With what degree of assurance could the pretended republicans see at their bar the friend of Jean Jacques Rousseau? This man, who throughout the course of a long life, made it his duty to defend the oppressed against the oppressor, and who would have pleaded the cause of the meanest individual against the tyranny of the proudest, now came to maintain the innocence of his monarch against the plebeian despots of the Fauxbourg St. Antoine. It was reserved for our age to behold this venerable magistrate, clad with the red mantle, in a cart covered with blood, and conducted to the guillotine with his daughter, grand-daughter, and grandson, amidst the acclamations of an ungrateful people, whose distresses he had so often commiserated. Virtuous Malesherbes! your illustrious manes now dwell in the abode of peace. Others more fortunate than myself have mingled their blood with yours.* It

* What is most felt is not always best expressed; and I cannot speak of the defender of Louis XVI. in terms equal to my wishes. The alliance, which united my family to his, procured me the frequent happiness of his society. It appeared to me as if I became firmer and more free in the presence of this excellent man, who, in the midst of courtly corruption, had combined with elevated rank the integrity of heart and courage of a pa-

was my destiny to survive you, and to drag on an existence devoid of illusion and full of regrets.

triot. I shall long recollect the last interview I had with him. It was one morning that I found him by chance with no one but his grand-daughter. He began to speak of Rousseau, and with a degree of emotion, in which I but too much participated. I shall never forget the advice which the revered old man condescended to give me. "I am wrong," said he, "in talking to you upon such subjects, and should rather encourage you to moderate that warmth of feeling which did so much harm to your friend. I was once like you; I revolted at injustice. I have done as much good as I could, without relying on the gratitude of mankind. You are young and will see many things; I have not long to live." I suppress some observations, which the intimacy between us and the generosity of his character, induced him to add. Of all his predictions only one is accomplished—I am nothing, and he is no more. The oppression of heart, which I experienced when I left him, has ever since appeared to me a foreboding hint that I should never see him more.

M. de Malesherbes was tall, but his corpulency made this not apparent. The energy, with which he expressed himself when far advanced in years, was astonishing. Any one who saw him seated in silence, with his eyes somewhat closed, his grey eyebrows, and his frankness of mien, would have taken him for one of those august personages painted by the hand of Le Sueur. But when the chords of his feeling heart were touched, he started from his quiescent state like lightning, while his eyes were instantly opened and enlarged. The glowing language, which proceeded from his lips, and the expressive airs which animated his whole appearance, were those of a person in all the effervescence of youth; but his hoary head, and a degree of confusion in his words, arising from the loss of teeth, betrayed the seventy years that he had lived. This contrast doubled the charms of his conversation, upon the same principle that we like the fires which burn amidst the ice and snows of winter.

M. de Malesherbes has filled Europe with his fame; but the

But why should I speak of the trial of Louis XVI? Who is ignorant of the particulars? Who does not know that all was useless against a torrent of crime and faction? Agis, Charles and Louis perished with all the semblance and mockery of justice. Let us leave Orleans to observe

defender of Louis XVI. was not less admirable at other periods of his life, than during the last moments which so gloriously crowned it. He was a man of letters, and the world owes Emilius to him. It is known that he was the only man attached to the court, except the Marshal de Luxembourg, whom J. J. Rousseau sincerely loved. He more than once broke open the gates of the Bastile. He alone refused to adopt the vices of the great; he alone departed pure from situations in which so many others lost their virtue. Some have reproached him with giving in to what were called the principles of the day. If by this term be meant a hatred of abuses, M. de Malesherbes was certainly culpable. For my own part, I will acknowledge that if he had only been a frank and worthy gentleman, ready to sacrifice himself for the King his master, and appeal to the sword for this purpose rather than to reason, I should have sincerely esteemed him, but I should have left the office of penning his eulogium to others.

I propose to write the life of M. de Malesherbes, and have been for some time collecting materials. This work will embrace the most interesting events that occurred during the reigns of Louis XV. and XVI. I shall exhibit the illustrious magistrate engaged in all the pursuits of the times. He will be seen as a patriot at court, a naturalist at Malesherbes, and a philosopher at Paris. The reader will follow him into the council-chamber of kings, and the retreat of the sage; at one time beholding him engaged with ministers upon affairs of state, at another, in friendly correspondence with Rousseau upon the subject of botany. Finally, the patriot will be seen disgraced by the court for his integrity, and wishing to lose his head upon the scaffold with his sovereign.

his king and kinsman with an eye-glass in his hand, and to pronounce the vote of *death*, at which even villains recoiled with horror. Let us consign such scenes to posterity, whose thundering voice already rises at a distance—to posterity, whose judgment of the past is incorruptible, and whose sentence will brand with infamy the names of such wretches as this age produced.

The fatal 21st of January 1793 arrived, to the everlasting affliction of France. The monarch, convinced that he must die, prepared himself with serenity for this 'great act of his life. His conscience was pure, and religion opened to him the heavens. But what ties had he first to break upon earth! Louis had seen his consort, his daughter, and his little son, who ran among the guards imploring the pardon of his father. Such accumulated agonies never before lacerated the heart of man.

The hour was come. The carriage was waiting at the gate. Louis descended the steps with his confessor. As he passed through the court, he could not refrain from casting his eyes towards the Queen's windows, but he saw no one there. What anguish must this look have expressed! He stepped into the carriage, which slowly pursued its way amidst a gloomy silence. Louis, while repeating the prayers adapted to those who are in the agonies of death, felt all its protracted horrors. At length he reached the place where the instrument of destruction had been erected, in

sight of the *Palais d' Henri IV.* The king alighted from the carriage, and wished at least to declare his innocence. "You are not brought hither to talk, but to die," said a barbarian to him. It was then that one of the best of kings, who had ever reigned over France, was seen, with his hands tied together, at the blood-stained guillotine, like the vilest of criminals, with his head forced into the aperture prepared for it, and awaiting the blow which was to deprive him of existence. Nay more, as if there remained not a single Frenchman attached to his sovereign, it was a foreigner who assisted the monarch at his last hour, in the midst of his whole people. Profound silence prevailed. "Son of Saint Louis, you ascend to Heaven!" exclaimed the pious ecclesiastic, bending towards the ear of the monarch. The fatal blow was given.

Thus did the Greeks see Agis, king of Sparta, fall; thus did our ancestors witness the disastrous end of Charles Stuart, king of England; and thus perished, before our own eyes, Louis de Bourbon, king of France. My object in detailing somewhat at large the execution of the second, was to shew how far the Jacobins carried their imitation, when they assassinated the last. I will venture to say more. If Charles had not been decapitated at London, Louis would probably not have been guillotined at Paris.

If we compare these three princes with each

other, the balance, as to innocence, is evidently in favour of Agis and Louis. Both were full of love for their people; both fell from a wish of bringing back their subjects to liberty and virtue; both mistook the morals of their age. The former said to the corrupted Spartans, "Become again the citizens of Lycurgus," and the Spartans sacrificed him. The other allowed the French to taste the forbidden fruit, and they exclaimed, "All or nothing!"

Charles, who was a limited monarch, had invaded the rights of a free nation. Louis, who was absolute, had continually resigned his rights in favour of his subjects.

The three monarchs were upright, compassionate, moral, religious, and possessed of all the social virtues. The first was more a philosopher, the second more a king, and the third more a private man. Destiny availed itself of defects in their character, diametrically opposite to each other, for the purpose of bringing them to the same untimely end; viz. the spirit of system in Agis, obstinacy in Charles, and want of decision in Louis. All three were moderate and sincere, yet all three were accused of despotism and duplicity; the king of Lacedæmon by attaching himself too warmly to his exalted notions, the king of England by listening only to his own will, and the king of France by following the will of others.

As to sufferings, Louis, at the first glance, ap-

pears to have left Agis and Charles far behind him *. But who will transport us to Lacedæmon? Who will shew us the worthy imitator of Lycurgus, obliged to conceal himself in a temple as the reward of his virtue, there to await his death, and meditate, at the foot of the altar, on the ingratitude of mankind? Who will introduce us into the presence of the unfortunate Charles, abandoned by the whole universe? Who will let us see him at Carisbrook with his neglected beard, and his venerable head bleached by affliction, assisting a poor old man, his only companion, to light his fire in a morning, passing the remainder of the day in gloomy solitude, and listening through the long nights, upon his mournful couch, for the sound of some assassin's footsteps in the corridors of his prison †. Lastly, who will open to us the gates of the Temple? Who will shew us the King of

* It must not be forgotten that Agis, Charles and Louis, were all three condemned in defiance of the laws of common justice, and by a manifest violation of all legal forms; so that if it be possible to admit the principle that the people have a right to chuse their rulers, (a principle which would destroy all human society) it would still be not the less certain that Agis, Charles and Louis were assassinated. Nero, justly condemned as he may be thought to have been, was nevertheless condemned by an infraction of legal privilege. Conrad was unworthily sacrificed at Naples. Elizabeth had no more right over Mary, Queen of Scots, than Charles of Anjou had over Conrad. The Queen of France was not even heard. These observations are of the highest importance, and prove much in the history of nations and mankind.

† Charles expected to be secretly assassinated.

France, hardly clothed, delivered to the custody of barbarians who unceasingly beset him, and agonized at having the distresses of his wife and children continually before his eyes? Let us look at Agis betrayed by his friends, and dragged along the streets of Sparta to the criminal tribunal; the tender Charles at Whitehall, holding his son upon his knee, and giving his last advice to the attentive child, with his last kiss; Louis in the Temple bidding a sad adieu to his family; the King of Lacedæmon ignominiously strangled in a dungeon by villains, and soon afterwards followed to the grave by his mother and august grandmother; the King of England on the scaffold; stripping off his clothes in the presence of his people, and preparing for death; the King of France at the foot of the guillotine, with his hair cut, his shirt open, and his hands tied behind his back! Oh, let us put an end to a comparison so afflicting! Whether a monarch or a slave, a warrior or philosopher, a rich man or a poor one, to endure and to die constitute the end of life. Between the graves of the king and the subject, there is only this difference with regard to posterity, that the one is adorned with a marble tomb which endures for a few years, while the other is only covered with a little grass; and the ridge that marked the spot is soon beaten down by the children of the neighbourhood who play upon it*.

* I very much dislike to write the history of my own time. In spite of every endeavour to do justice, it is always to be

I shall only make a few short reflections upon these important events. Great crimes astonish us

feared that some secret passion guides the pen. When I am obliged, therefore, to speak of any man of the present age, I put these questions to myself: "Do I know him? Has he done me any favour? Has he done me any injury? Has no one prejudiced me for or against him? Have I fairly considered both sides of the question? What is my favourite passion? Am I not liable to be led away by enthusiasm, by too great a degree of compassion, or animosity? &c. &c. After all these inquiries, I still tremble as I write. I will acknowledge then that I have been presented to Louis XVI. and that he granted favours to myself and my family, though his intentions never were fulfilled. I had, however, such an antipathy to court, I felt such contempt for certain persons, and so little concealed it, I was so careless about what is called *making one's fortune*, that I was like the confidants in tragedy, who enter, look about them, say nothing, and make their exit. His Majesty never spoke to me but twice in his life; once when I was presented, and the second time when we were hunting. I conceive, therefore, that I have no secret, interested motive in what I have said above of the King of France, and I believe that candour and impartiality have been my guides in thus rendering justice to his virtues. As to his innocence, it is acknowledged even by the Jacobins.

Louis was a man of good stature; he had broad shoulders and a corpulent person. When he walked, it was with a rolling gait, the one leg crossing the other. He was short-sighted, and his eyes were generally half shut. His mouth was large; his voice hollow and vulgar. He laughed freely, and his general air announced gaiety—not perhaps the gaiety of a superior mind, but that cordial cheerfulness which distinguishes the man whose conscience is without reproach. He was not destitute of knowledge, especially as to geography. In other respects, he had his foibles like the rest of mankind. For instance, he liked to play with his pages, and to watch the lords of his court from a window of the palace, at five o'clock in the morning, when they

like great virtues. Every thing remarkable pleases the multitude. They like to be agitated and crowded together. The honest man, who laments that his sovereign should be massacred by a faction, would be, nevertheless, very sorry to miss the sight, and perhaps in some degree disappointed if the execution were not to take place. This is the reason why the revolutions, in which kings have perished, so much dazzle mankind, and succeeding generations are tempted to imitate them,

were coming from different apartments. When hunting, if you passed between him and the stag, he was liable to be transported with anger, as I myself experienced. One day, when the heat was exceedingly oppressive, an old gentleman who was one of his equerries, and had attended him on the chase, found himself fatigued, alighted from his horse, lay down in the shade and fell asleep. Louis passed that way, and perceiving him, thought it would be amusing to rouse him. He therefore alighted, and without any intention to hurt his good old servant, threw a somewhat heavy stone upon his stomach. The equerry awoke, and from the pain and anger of the moment, exclaimed, " Ah, I know you very well ; you are just as you were in your infancy. You are a tyrant, a cruel man, a ferocious beast ;" and thus continued to heap opprobrious appellations upon the king. His Majesty ran towards his horse, half smiling, and half grieved at having hurt the equerry, for whom he had a regard, and exclaimed as he mounted, " He is angry, he is angry, he is angry."

These little circumstances, insignificant as they may appear, often convey a better idea of character than great actions, which are generally mere parade virtues, and they by no means detract from the respect due to Louis. The simplicity of his manners, his hatred of tyranny, and his love for his people will always render him, in the estimation of the impartial, an estimable and praise-worthy monarch. Louis has too well proved that among mankind it is more for our interest to be wicked than weak.

When we take children to see a tragedy, they cannot sleep at their return, unless we lay at their bedside the sword or poniard of the conspirators whom they have seen. Still, however, there is always some good produced by a revolution, and this something survives the revolution itself. Those, who actually witness a tragic event, are much more struck with the evils, than the advantages resulting from it; but to those, who are at a greater distance from the scene, the effect is precisely inverted. The former see the *dénouement* in action, the latter only hear it recited. Hence Cromwell's revolution had next to no influence on his own times, and yet it has been copied with avidity in our days. It will be the same with the French revolution, which will, perhaps, on some future day, overthrow all Europe.

But the great difference, which is perceptible between the troubles of Sparta under Agis, those of England under Charles I. and those of France under Louis, consists in the men who distinguished themselves. To whom among us can we compare Lysander, a firm and upright patriot, a model of ancient virtue? To whom can we compare Cromwell, who concealed, under a coarse exterior, all that is great in human nature—a man, who was profound, vast and secret as an abyss, who hid in his soul the ambition of a Cæsar, and hid it in so superior a manner, that not one of his colleagues, except Hampden, could dive into his thoughts and views?

Shall we oppose to him the gloomy Robespierre, brooding over crimes, and great only in not possessing a single good quality?

Shall we compare to the virtuous Hampden, who would have been great at Rome even in the age of the first Brutus, our Mirabeau, at once a legislator, a party leader, an orator, a novelist, an historian, a man of unbounded political knowledge, and well acquainted with the springs of human action,—at once the greatest genius and the most corrupt promoter of the revolution?

When such disproportions appear between the men, there must have existed great ones in the times during which they lived. But let us retrace our steps to the age of Alexander.

CHAP. XLIX.

The Age of Alexander.

At the time that Dionysius was dethroned at Syracuse, and Athens was become a prey to factions, a tyrant had reared his head in Macedon. The character of Philip is too well known, and too little connected with the plan of this essay, for me to dwell upon it. Suffice it to remark that he is the father of that modern policy, which consists in creating disturbances for the purpose of reaping the fruits, and that he equally gave birth to the system, now practised, of spreading corruption in order to extend dominion. It was in vain

that Demosthenes attacked him with the thunder of genuine eloquence. The King of Macedon advanced with caution proportionate to his weakness, and threw away the mask as soon as he felt strong. The Greeks then awoke, but it was too late; and their beautiful edifice of liberty, which they had erected with so much danger amidst so many tempests, crumbled into dust upon the plains of Chersonesus, through the genius of two men who were destined to change the face of the universe.

If the age of Alexander differ from ours in historical respects, they more nearly resemble each other on the side of morality. It was then that there arose, as in our days, a host of philosophers, who called in question God, the universe and themselves. Never was the spirit of research carried further. Every thing was written upon, every thing was analysed and discussed. There was no minute maxim of policy, no metaphysical subtlety which was not carefully investigated. The people were instructed in their rights, knew every species of government, and possessed what was much more likely than books to teach them how to become free; they had the traditions of their ancestors, and their tombs on the plains of Marathon. They enjoyed too republican forms, which their tyrants left them as playthings; upon the same principle that we allow infants to handle arms which they are not strong enough to use—a great example that overthrows our systems with

regard to the effect of knowledge. It proves that to arrive at independence it is not sufficient to reason scientifically upon virtue, but necessary to love this virtue; and it proves that all the moralists in the universe cannot impart to us a relish for it when we have once lost it. The enlightened ages have always been the ages of slavery. By what magic should ours become an exception to the general rule? The comparison of ancient and modern philosophers, which I shall submit to the reader, will enable him to judge how far the age of Alexander resembled ours. It will be seen that, far from having invented any thing new, we have remained, except in natural history, much below Greece. It will be observed that the moment the sophists began to attack religion and the received ideas of the people, the latter found themselves fettered by Philip.

Judging from the data which history affords, I cannot but tremble for the future destiny of France.

Two men of great genius, and living nearly at the same time, became the founders of the different philosophic classes in Greece.

Thales was the father of the Ionian school and Pythagoras of the Italian.* Let us rapidly trace

* Thales : water the principle of creation. Pythagoras : the system of harmonies. I will add that Thales established the following theorems in mathematics. Angles, of which the points are opposed, are equal. Angles, made at the base of an isosceles triangle, are equal. If two angles and one side of a triangle are equal to two angles and one side of another triangle, the two triangles are equal. Pythagoras discovered these fine truths : The square of

the philosophy of those, who founded the principal sects of these two schools, confining ourselves to Plato, Aristotle, Zeno, Epicurus and Pyrrho. I have spoken elsewhere of their Cosmogonies.*

Plato. Wisdom, taken in the full Platonic extent of the word, is the knowledge of that which is.

Philosophy, according to Plato, means a desire of divine science. It is divided into three classes, dialectic, theoretic and practical. I pass over the first. *Theoretic philosophy.* Nothing produces nothing. Thence we ascertain the two principles which have existed from all eternity, God and matter. The first imparted motion and order to the last. God can create nothing; he has arranged every thing.

God, the principle opposed to matter, is a Being entirely spiritual, most excellent, most intelligent, but not almighty; because he cannot subdue the propensity to evil inherent in matter.

Plato further inculcated the immortality of the soul, which was to return after death to God, from whom it had emanated. As to politics, Plato admitted monarchy to be the best government.

the hypotenuse in a right angled triangle is equal to the squares of the other two sides. The only polygons, which can fill a space round a given point, are the equilateral triangle, the quadrilateral and the hexagonal, the first taken six times, the second four, and the third three. Of all the ways in which the square of the hypotenuse is demonstrated, that of Bezout appears to me the clearest.

* Beauties of Christianity, London edition, 1813, vol. i. book iii. chap. 1.

Aristotle, like *Plato*, divided philosophy into three kinds. He is the author of the celebrated system of the chain of beings.

With respect to the insoluble problem: How does the soul act on the body? The *Stagyrite* believed that he had given an answer, by attributing this phenomenon to an immediate act of will, on the part of the universal Mover. He knew nothing more as to the nature of the soul, which he called a perfect energy; not the first movement, but a principle of movement, &c. He held it to be immortal.

Zeno, the father of the *Stoic* sect, maintained that philosophy is an effort of the soul towards wisdom, and that in this effort consists virtue.

He affirmed too that the earth will be alternately destroyed by water and fire, to reappear again in the same form, and that man has an immortal soul. He admitted, as the *Roman church* does, the three states of recompence, purification and punishment, in another life, as well as the resurrection of the body after the general destruction of the world.

According to *Epicurus*, philosophy is the search after happiness. Happiness consists in health and peace of soul. Two sorts of studies lead to it, that of physic and that of morality.

According to the same philosopher there are Gods; not that reason demonstrates this, instinct alone tells us it is so. But these Gods, who are supremely happy, do not interfere, and cannot

interfere with human affairs. They reside in the unknown regions of purity, delight and peace.

The morals of Epicurus admit two sorts of pleasure. The first consists in a perfect repose of mind and body; the other in a gentle emotion of the senses, which communicates itself to the soul. By pleasure we are not to understand that intoxication of the passions which subjugates us, but a tranquil absence of cares. This state of tranquillity must not, in its turn, be thought profound apathy, a torpor of the soul, but the situation in which a person feels when all his mental and corporeal functions combine in placid harmony. A happy life is neither a rapid torrent nor a stagnant pool; but a rivulet which flows silently and slowly, reflecting in its limpid waters the flowers and verdure of its banks.

As to *Pyrrho*, the true scepticism of the ancients was not so much an universal negative as an indifference respecting every thing. The Pyrrhonian did not reject the existence of bodies, the accidents of heat and cold, &c. but he said that he believed he felt or perceived a thing, without knowing whether it really existed, and without its being of any importance whether it did or not. God is or is not; such a body appears to be round, square or oval; it appears that it snows, or the sun shines. Such was the language of scepticism.*

* There always remains one insurmountable objection to Pyrrhonism, founded on mathematical truths. That bodies are

We should less consider what is true or false in these systems, than the influence which they had on the happiness of the nations among whom they were broached. Their tenor was directly contrary to the moral, religious and political institutions of Greece. The priests and magistrates of the country opposed them with vigour, perceiving that they attacked the edifice to its very base; and being convinced that books, which preached the doctrine of monarchy in a republic, and atheism or deism among nations of religious habits, were sure, sooner or later, to effect the destruction of social order. Thus the Greek philosophers, like our's, were at open war with their own age, and we should never accelerate the course of events by our opinions. If a government be bad, or a religion superstitious, let us leave it to time, which

only the modification of my senses I may allow, but geometrical things exist of themselves. The properties of the cylinder, the polygon, the tangent, the secant, &c. are demonstrated to me by evidence, whether I consider myself as a body or spiritual. There is then something which does not belong to me, and which cannot be a combination of my thoughts, because every truth, which can demonstrate itself (there are none but mathematical truths of this kind) is one in itself. Besides, if I am spiritual, or part of the whole, God or matter, how can the measured quantity of the line become the effect of an incommensurable cause? If any thing can be found independent of me, the system of scepticism is at once destroyed; for though I cannot prove the reality of such an object, yet I have reason to believe in its identity, unless mathematical truths are only to be deemed like the *Numbers of Pythagoras* or *Plato's World of Ideas*.

will afford a better remedy than we can. Bodies politic, when left to themselves, have their natural metamorphoses like Chrysalides. The animal, confined by chains which it has itself forged, languishes for a long time in abject slumber, under an appearance the most vile; when some morning, to the astonishment of the spectator, it bursts through the walls of its prison, and displaying two brilliant wings, flies to the fields of liberty. But if by ill judged artificial warmth you try to forward the phenomenon, the maggot often dies during the delicate operation, and instead of producing life and beauty, you have nothing but a dead body of hideous form.

Before we proceed to this great subject of the influence, which opinions possess over the morals and governments of nations, let us compare our philosophers with those of Greece.

Italy, France and Great-Britain having been subjected by the nations of the North, a barbarous species of philosophy spread itself through the West, at the same time that a hatred of the sciences prevailed among those who ought to have protected them. It was at this time that Emperors made laws to banish *mathematicians* and *sorcerers*, while Popes employed themselves in burning libraries at Rome.* The *Trivium* and *Quadrivium* †

* Gregory caused the fine library to be burnt, which had been formed by the Roman Emperors, and was in the temple of Apollo.

† The science of Trivium and Quadrivium was all comprehended in the two following celebrated verses.

were ardently studied in the cloisters. A monk* invented the notes of music on the *ut queant laxis*, and to complete these evils, towards the twelfth century appeared the works of Aristotle. The unfortunate scholastic philosophy was then formed, which was composed of the subtleties of the Peripatetics and the mystic jargon of Plato.

The new sect was soon afterwards divided into *Nominalists*, *Albertists*, *Occamists*, and *Realists*. The champions of these tenets often came to blows, and the Popes and Kings took one side or the other. Among the new philosophers, Thomas Aquinas, Albert, and Roger Bacon were conspicuous, but above all, Abelard. There are deaths, of which the simple name tells us more than can be expressed.

Meanwhile Constantinople had submitted to the yoke of the Turks, and the fugitive Greek philosophers still remaining found an asylum in Italy. Letters began to revive in all parts. Dante and Petrarch had appeared. The latter is better known by his *CANZONES* than by his Treatise *De Contemptu Mundi, de suâ ipsâ et aliorum ignorantia*, though the latter work is superior to most of his

Gramm. loquitur, *Dia.* vera docet, *Rhet.* verba colorat ;

Mus. canit, *Ar.* numerat, *Geo.* ponderat, *Ast.* colit astra.

* Guido Aretin. He founded the expression of the six notes on the hymn of Paul Diacon.

UT queant laxis. RE sonare fibris,

MI ra gestorum. FA muli tuorum.

SOL ve pollutis. LA büs reatum.

Sancte Joanes.

sonnets. But Laura and Vacluse are tender names, and men are more easily won through the heart than the head. Pic of Mirandola, Politian, Ficinus, and a thousand others were prodigies of erudition. Erasmus followed; his Letters and his Eulogium on Folly are full of spirit and elegance. Soon afterwards the reformers of the Roman church attacked the Scholastic sect still more vigorously. The other philosophies of Greece began to revive. Gassendi renewed the sect of Epicurus, and rendered himself famous by his astronomical genius. At length Jordan Bruno, Jerome Cardan and Francis Bacon appeared. These men disdained to walk in the steps of the Greeks, and struck out a new road for themselves. In them commenced *the modern philosophy*.

Lord Chancellor Bacon, one of those men who are an honour to human nature, has left us several works; but it is to his Treatise on the Advancement of Learning and his *Novum Organon Scientiarum* that he is particularly indebted for his immortality.

This great author opened the true road of philosophy to those who followed him; and every one, guided by his genius, knew from that time where to take his station.

At the same time that Bacon shone in England, Campanella flourished in Italy. This extraordinary man vigorously attacked the prejudices of his age, and fell himself into a confusion of systems. He was for twenty-seven years immured

in dungeons for a pretended conspiracy against the King of Spain; and grew old there, like a salamander, amidst the fire of his own genius, having neither pen nor paper to give it vent. His writings are brilliant, but a disordered mind is perceptible in them. He admitted Plato's soul of the world, &c.

Hobbes, who was a contemporary of Bacon, published several works. His book on Human Nature, his treatise *De Corpore Politico*, his *Leviathan* and *Dissertation on Man* are the most considerable. His political principles nearly approached those of J. J. Rousseau's Social Contract, but he maintains opinions most destructive to society. He asserts that authority, not truth, constitutes the principle of law; that the supreme magistrate, who punishes the innocent, sins against God, but not against justice; that there is no right to property, &c. As to morals, he says, that the state of nature is a state of war, and that happiness consists in a perpetual transition from desire to desire.

Descartes revived Pyrrhonism, and opened the sources of modern philosophy, by which the world has been deluged. According to his doctrine, the only truth consisted in his famous argument, *I think, therefore I exist*. He admitted innate ideas and the existence of matter. He explained the action of the soul upon the body according to the principles of Plato. His strange notions as to physic are well known.

Leibnitz published his system of the *Monades*, by which he understood a simple substance without parts; but this substance varies in properties and relations, and it is from these distinct apparent modifications that the Several in Unity are derived. This doctrine approaches towards the Numbers of Pythagoras and the Ideas of Plato. Leibnitz is the author of the Differential Calculus.*

Spinoza was an Atheist, but one of the best order. He admitted an universal substance, and said that this substance contains in itself all the elements of modification, it is God. Every thing, therefore, proceeds from God. The dead and the dying, the rich and the poor, the man that smiles and he that weeps, the earth, the stars—every thing passes away and is in God.

Locke has left, in his Treatise on Human Understanding, one of the finest monuments of human genius. He destroys the doctrine of innate ideas, explains the nature of these ideas, and derives them from their two sources, sensation and reflection.

After Machiavel, Mariana and Bodin,† Grotius was one of the first who revived politics in Eu-

* A much more valuable memorial of literature than the correspondence of the Encyclopedists is that of Newton, Clarke and Leibnitz; for instance, Leibnitz imparting to Newton the discovery of his differential calculus, and Newton asking his advice relative to the theory of tides.

† Sidney wrote some time afterwards. This Sidney, who was the author of an excellent treatise on government, must not be confounded with the one who wrote the *Arcadia*.

rope. His work *De Jure Belli et Pacis* wants method, and moreover swerves from what its title announces. Besides he proceeds upon a dubious ground of argument, the sociability of man. He displays, however, genius and erudition.

Puffendorf is inferior to Grotius in genius, but we learn more from his treatise *De Jure Naturæ et Gentium* than by the one above mentioned, on account of the excellent plan of the work. He begins with morals and proceeds to politics, the only road by which we can arrive at the truth, considering man with reference to God, himself, and his fellow-creatures.

The universal scepticism of Bayle is manifest in his writings. He destroys all the systems of others without establishing one himself. He is, however, reckoned, with justice, the greatest logician that has existed.

Malbranche has left a celebrated name behind him. The two most extraordinary opinions, which were perhaps ever advanced by any philosopher, are to be found in his *Search after Truth*. He affirms that thought is not produced by understanding, but emanates immediately from God; and that the human mind communicates directly with the divinity, seeing every thing through that medium.

To speak of those great men who laboured at the same time in natural history, would be too long an undertaking, and too foreign to the subject of this work. Copernicus, who restored the

true system of the universe, which had been lost since the days of Pythagoras ; Galileo, who invented the telescope, discovered the satellites of Jupiter, the ring of Saturn, &c. ; and lastly, the immortal Newton,* who followed the track of comets, ascertained the movements of all the worlds, penetrated into the origin of colours, and stole from God, if I may so express myself, the secret of nature. All these illustrious men preceded the Encyclopedists,† of whom it remains for me to speak.

If would be impossible to enter into the detail of their philosophy. Most of it is already forgotten, and all that remains is the French revolution.‡ To treat of their writings is not more easy,

* We are at a loss which of the great men to admire most, whose names I have just quoted, when we see them proceeding, one after the other, from wonders to wonders.

† I comprehend under this name, not only the real Encyclopedists, but also the philosophers, who followed them down to the present time.

‡ Be it understood that they were not the *only* cause of the revolution, but a *great* cause. The French concussion did not proceed from this or that man, from this or that book. It was inevitable from the very nature of things, though thousands will not be convinced of this. It was principally caused by the progress of society towards knowledge and corruption. Hence it was that so many excellent principles were attended with such disastrous consequences. The former were derived from an enlightened theory, the latter from the corruption of morals ; so that an incomprehensible mixture of crimes was grafted on a philosophic trunk, as I have endeavoured to shew throughout this essay.

for they have produced no complete system. We only perceive, from several of Diderot's works, that he admitted pure atheism, without supporting it by any strength of argument.* Voltaire understood nothing about metaphysics; he laughed, wrote witty couplets, and instilled immorality. Those, who lived nearer our own days, are hardly superior as to their reasoning. Helvetius has written childish books, replete with sophistry, which any schoolboy might refute. I say nothing of Condillac and Mably, nor will I dwell on J. J. Rousseau and Montesquieu, two men of a superior stamp to the Encyclopedists.

What was the spirit of this sect? Destruction. To destroy was their object, to destroy was their argument. What did they wish to substitute for the present situation of affairs? Nothing. It was a rage against the institutions of their country, which in truth were not excellent. Still, however, they who throw down, ought to rebuild the edifice, and this is a difficult matter, which should put us upon our guard against innovations. One effect of our weakness is, that negative truths are within the reach of all mankind, whereas positive reasons only occur to the enlightened. A fool will easily give you a good reason *against* any thing, but hardly ever a good reason *for* any thing.

* This it not true with respect to all his works, but the result of them considered together. In several parts of his writings, he is a deist.

If it be thought that I speak too harshly of these learned men, who are highly estimable in other respects (and I am quite ready to do them this justice), I appeal to any impartial person. What have they effected? Must I fall in love with their atheism? Were Newton, Locke, Bacon, and Grotius men of weak minds, and inferior to the author of James the Fatalist, or *Mon Cousin Vadé*? Were they ignorant of moral, physical, metaphysical and political axioms? Was J. J. Rousseau a man of groveling soul? Enough—they all believed in the God of their country; they all inculcated religion and virtue. Besides, there is another grievous reflection. Did the Encyclopedists publish what was really their conscientious opinions? Men are so vain and weak that the love of notoriety often induces them to make assertions which do not accord with their conviction.

Before we speak of the influence which the *beaux esprits* of Alexander's age and those of our own had upon their respective ages, we will describe them to the reader. We will select those who are most to be admired, and after giving an idea of their works and style, will pass to their morals. Thus we shall have a complete little history of philosophy and philosophers.

If the graces of diction and warmth of imagination, with a mystic intellectual expression which cannot be described, and which resembles the language of supernatural beings, constitute a

great and sublime writer, Plato deserves that appellation. His style is perhaps more like that of the virtuous Archbishop of Cambray than the language of J. J. Rousseau, but the latter resembles him more in point of subject. We will form a group of these three enlightened men; and it will be a group which embraces all that is amiable in virtue, great in talent and sensible in human character.

Plato, Fenelon and J. J. Rousseau have sought to ascertain the nature of moral and political man; the first in his *Republic*, the second in his *Télémaque*, the last in his *Emilius*.

Plato divides his Republic into three classes, the people or mechanics, the warriors who defend the country, and the magistrates who direct its government. The education of the citizen begins at his birth. Affectionate parents, it will doubtless be supposed, watch its cradle? No. It is carried to a place common to all, where its hunger is appeased by the milk of a nurse, while its mother, close to it, suckles the child of another.

When the citizen arrives at the age of adolescence, the gymnasia occupy his time. The first objects which strike his eye are the models of young women exposed to view without shame. He is thus accustomed to examine the graces of nudity, and his imagination loses the pleasure of ideal beauty. He is deprived of a family, and cannot have the young woman for whom he may feel an affection. Nay, when his country shall have chosen

a companion for him, he will be soon afterwards obliged to break his first ties and receive into the nuptial couch not a timid blushing virgin, but a wife who has been common to others, one to whom the kiss of chastity and the mysteries of love are unknown.

If among these general children of the country any one should display those indications of talent which announce the great man, he is removed from the community and instructed in the sciences ; - after which he goes with the rest to fight the battles of his country. As he advances in age, the most important employments are confided to him, and the secret causes of nature are disclosed to his mind. Philosophy exhibits to him the Great Being. He learns to detach himself from human pursuits ; he becomes a traveller in the intellectual world ; he strips himself as it were of his body, and associates with divine wisdom, of which our's is only the shadow ; and when fifty years of study and meditation have rendered his nature superior to that of his fellow citizens, he re-descends to our earth, and becomes one of the magistrates of the country.

Such is the political man of Plato. The divine disciple of Socrates wished, in the delirium of his virtue, to spiritualize terrestrial beings ; and in order to make them equal God, he began by establishing a corps of Janizaries to oppress the people, by making metaphysical legislators, and by destroying those maternal and conjugal affec-

tions which are to be found even among the wild beasts of the forest. Infants in common ! Oh philosophic blasphemy ! Happier, a hundredfold happier the poor woman of our cities, who begs a morsel of bread while she carries her child in her arms ! Society has abandoned her, but nature is still her companion, and she will not feel the inclemency of winter while she has still a corner of a ragged cloak in which she can wrap her tender offspring. She will even forget the hunger that preys upon her, if her breast still affords the accustomed nourishment of her dear infant, which smiles at her tears, and presses her maternal bosom with its little hands.

Fenelon judged of the state of society better than Plato. His moral youth quits the place of his nativity to go in search of his father. Wisdom accompanies him in the form of Mentor. The first step of his career is like the first step in life, towards misfortune. Death menaces him in Sicily, and after escaping this danger, slavery and poverty await him in Egypt. The gods and letters come to his assistance. When on the point of returning to his country, the hand of fate again seizes him, and reconsigns him to a prison. There, from the top of a tower, he passes his days in contemplating the waves that break at a distance on the shore, and the mortals agitated by the tempest. All at once a great combat attracts his observation. He sees a despotic monarch fall ;

the oppressor's bleeding head is seized by the locks, and shewn to the people whom he oppressed.

Telemachus quits Egypt, and the most dreadful tyranny is exhibited to him in Phœnicia. He abandons this land of slavery, and arrives at that of pleasure. The youth is at the point of ruin, when Wisdom suddenly appears to him. He flies with her from the treacherous island, and during a tranquil voyage listens to divine lectures on God and virtue, which open his heart to moral delights.

Soon afterwards mountains are discovered in the horizon. Their summits are tinged with the first refractions of light. By degrees Crete appears. Verdant crops, plantations of olives, rustic villages, and smiling cottages, intersected with groves and woods—finally, the whole island displays itself like an amphitheatre, on the calm and brilliant azure of the sea.

What magic wand created this enchanted country? A good government. The sight of a happy people here developes to the youth the secrets of legislation and policy. He learns thereby that the governed are not made for the governing, but the latter for the former. Telemachus, still increasing in wisdom, refuses, from love towards his own country, the royalty offered to him. He embarks, after having placed a philosopher at the head of the Cretans; and Venus, irritated by his contempt, awaits him with Love at the island of Calypso.

He does not experience here that gross voluptuousness which subjugated him at Cyprus. What he feels is of a celestial nature, and reigns at the same time over his soul and senses. He no longer sees bold wantons, whose ready charms are so exposed as to leave desire nothing to guess at; but the floating tresses of Eucharis, which veil her unknown beauties. He sees the modest timidity of the virgin, who loves, and dare not avow her love, but exhales it like a perfume round her.

On another hand, the unfortunate Calypso is consumed by a devouring passion. Jealousy, still more devouring, takes possession of her soul. She beholds objects with distorted vision, her cheeks fall in, and all the fury of a lioness is depicted in her features. The affrighted Telemachus finds no refuge but with Eucharis, whom the goddess is ready to destroy; while young Cupid, amidst the troop of nymphs, smiles with self satisfaction at the mischief he has caused.

All is over—the youth falls, and is about to perish; when Wisdom appears to him again, and draws him towards the shore. Telemachus, insensible to virtue, sees nothing but Eucharis. He wishes to kiss even the traces of her steps, and intreats her at least to bid him a final adieu. But flames suddenly attract his eye; they rise from the vessel which Minerva had built, and which Love is now consuming. A secret joy penetrates into the heart of the son of Ulysses. Wisdom foresees the return of his weakness, seizes the fa-

ourable moment, and pushing her pupil from the summit of a rock into the waves, precipitates herself after him.

Telemachus swims to a vessel which is lying in sight of the island, and is taken on board. There he finds a former friend, who relates to him the death of a tyrant, and describes a people happy according to nature. The youth, while listening to these agreeable recitals, thinks that he has reached his native land, but finds himself upon a strange coast. Half erected towers, columns surrounded by scaffolding, and temples without roofs announce the building of a city. Idomeneus, who has been driven from Crete by his subjects, reigns here.

Telemachus receives his last lessons while remaining at this place. The picture of courts and their vices, is displayed to him. The virtuous man banished, the knave in office, the ambition, prejudices, and passions of kings, unjust wars, false plans of legislation, and finally, not the excess of tyranny, but the general evil (which is perhaps still worse) predominant in corrupt governments, are exhibited to the pupil of Minerva. After having descended into the infernal regions, where he sees the torments reserved for despots, and the recompence awarded to good kings; after having supported the fatigues of war, and cherished a lawful passion for the consort he has chosen, Telemachus returns to his country, instructed by

wisdom and adversity, equally fitted henceforth to command or obey mankind, because he has subdued his passions.

The defect of this immortal work consists in the loftiness of its lessons, which are not calculated for all classes of persons. It is also sometimes inclined to be tedious, especially in the latter books. But those who love virtue, and at the same time admire the beauties of antiquity, ought never to sleep 'till they have read the second book of *Telemachus*. The influence of this work has been considerable. It contains all the principles of the day; it breathes a spirit of liberty, and it even predicts the revolution. If we consider the age in which it appeared, it will be found to be one of the first publications which changed the course of national ideas in France.

“ Every thing is right when it leaves the hands of the Creator; every thing degenerates in the hands of man.” It is thus that *Emilius* begins, and this passage explains all the work. Jean Jacques Rousseau takes man, as Plato does, in his swaddling cloathes, and recommends the breast of the mother. He wishes that, as soon as the infant opens its eyes to the light, it should be immediately exposed to the influence of necessity, the only law of life. If it cries, it should not be appeased; if it asks for any object, the object should not be given to it. Praise and censure, fear and courage are springs of the soul, the very names of which are

unknown to him. It requires all the force of reason to comprehend God; and God is therefore never mentioned to the Emilius of J. J. Rousseau.

The moment that the child is taken from the hands of the women, he is consigned to those of his friend; not his master, for he has none. The difficult task of this friend is how to teach the child nothing. Emilius neither knows how to read nor write; but he is conscious of his deficiencies, and every day some accident occurs during his pastimes, tending to make him desirous of being instructed in letters, mathematics, and other sciences. In like manner he has moral and civil ideas. Great care has been taken to conceal from him what justice and propriety are; but a juggler, a gardener, and a thousand fortuitious circumstances, gradually develope in his mind the system of relative things.

Emilius does not know what resource to seek when oppressed by ennui, nor how to keep awake when sleepy. When hungry, he eats. If he cannot satisfy his wants and desires, he never murmurs. Does he not already feel the empire of necessity?

He is courageous, not because he ought to be so, but because he is ignorant of danger. He does not know what death is. He has seen people die, and it appeared to him right, because it is natural, and above all, a fatality.

Emilius, however, has learnt to ask one question. "What is this good for?" demands he, when

he says any think of which he is ignorant. This question is left unanswered, and he does not fail, by some accident, to discover the object of his inquiry, sooner or later.

But the age of the passions advances, and the storm is already beginning to be heard. The pupil of Rousseau has learnt from his sports not only the elements of abstract sciences, but those of mechanical skill. He can work as a joiner, because though Emilius is rich, he may be exposed to the revolutions of states. "You confide," says Rousseau, "in the actual order of society, without reflecting that this order is subject to inevitable revolutions, and that it is impossible for you to foresee or prevent what may happen to your children. The great may become little, the rich poor, the monarch a subject. Are the blows of fate so rare that you can calculate upon being exempt from them? We are approaching the crisis, and the age of revolutions. *I hold it to be impossible that the great monarchies of Europe can endure much longer. They have all shone, and every state, which thus distinguishes itself, is on its decline. I have reasons for my opinion, which are still stronger than this maxim, but it is not convenient to avow them, though every one feels them too sensibly.*"*

* This is the famous passage in Emilius, upon which several remarks may be made. The first is the distinct manner in which Jean Jacques Rousseau predicted the revolution. The second relates to his celebrated idea of causing every child to learn some trade. How was this ridiculed at the time that Emilius was published! How ridiculous was such philosophy de-

Emilius at length attains the age of reason, and God is about to be revealed to him. A sensible

clared to be! I have no occasion to ask whether we now feel the truth of it. There are many of our French gentry, who would be truly glad if they knew how to work at some business like Emilius. They would earn their three or four shillings a day, and would be useful citizens of the country into which fate has thrown them.

The third and most important remark bears reference to the nature of the passage itself. It is clear that Rousseau not only foresaw the revolution, but also the horrors with which it would be accompanied. He announces that Emilius intends to emigrate. How could such a republican as Rousseau have formed such an idea, if he had not known what sort of people would effect the revolution in France—if he had not judged, from the general state of morals, that a virtuous revolution was impossible? Undoubtedly the sensible philosopher, who said that a revolution, which costs the life of a single man, is a bad one, would not have extolled that of France. I heard a very interesting discussion on the subject of Voltaire and Rousseau, in a company of literary men who had known them, and who were great partizans of the revolution. They discussed what would have been the probable conduct of the poet and philosopher, had they lived to witness the crisis; and it was unanimously agreed that they would have been *aristocrats*. Voltaire, they said, would never have forgotten his office of gentleman in waiting to the king, nor have pardoned the apotheosis of J. J. Rousseau. As to the latter, his detestation of bloodshed would have made him a decided anti-revolutionist. These remarks are very just, and exhibit a faithful picture of the two men. But what force of genius appears in Rousseau, to have at the same time predicted the revolution and its crimes; and what an incredible circumstance it is that the very writings of this man should have led to them!

The idea of Rousseau, however, as to teaching Emilius the trade of a joiner, is only what Nero said, when he was reproach-

philosopher repairs one morning to the summit of a high hill, at the foot of which flows the Po, while the rising sun throws the shadows of the trees into the valley. After some moments of silence and recollection, the Savoyard vicar, inspired by the glorious spectacle, and by the ideas of Divinity to which it gives birth, proves the existence of the Great Being, not by metaphysical arguments, but by the feelings of his heart. A just and beneficent God, who loves the human race, is the only one that Emilius acknowledges.

Love asserts his rights over the heart of Rousseau's pupil, but the youth wishes for such a woman as his imagination, captivated by virtue, delights to paint her. He at length meets with her in a retreat. Modesty, grace and beauty are conspicuous in Sophia. Emilius is on fire, and cannot obtain her. His friend tears him away from this intoxication, to travel through Europe. The passion of the young lover, nevertheless, survives a long absence; he returns, marries the object of his affection and becomes happy.

What! Is it to this that Emilius comes at last? Undoubtedly; and Emilius is as much above the other men of his age, as we differ from the first Romans. Emilius combines in himself all the excellencies, of which man is susceptible, for he is

ed with his ardent devotion to the study of music. He replied by a celebrated Greek adage: "A mechanic lives every where." It is singular that the maxim of a philosopher should be only the observation of a tyrant.

the man of nature. His heart is devoid of prejudice. He is frank, courageous, benevolent, and has all the virtues, without pretending to any of them. If he has one defect, it is that of being isolated in the world, and of living like a giant among pigmies.

Such is the famous work which accelerated our revolution. Its chief fault is that it is written for only a small number of readers. I have sometimes seen it in the hands of ladies, who were looking in it for rules to guide them in the education of their children; and I have smiled. The book is not a practical one. It would be utterly impossible to educate a young man upon a system, which requires a combination of objects and people that are not to be found; but the sage must regard this production of Rousseau as a treasure. Perhaps there are not above five books in the world, which are worthy of perusal. *Emilius* is one of them.

I should be guilty of an unpardonable omission if I closed this article without speaking of the influence that *Emilius* had on the present age. I boldly declare that this work effected a complete revolution in modern Europe, and that it constitutes an epoch in the history of nations. After it appeared, education underwent a total change in France, and whatever alters education alters mankind. How great must have been the astonishment of nations when Rousseau, departing from the circle of received opinions, discovered beyond it the light of truth; when throwing down the fa-

abric of our social ideas, he shewed that our principles and even our sentiments depended on the conventional habits imbibed with our mother's milk; that consequently our best books, and most upright institutions, had never yet exhibited the creature of God; and that we exist as if in a sort of fictitious world! How great, I say, must have been the general astonishment when Rousseau introduced to his degenerate contemporaries the unsophisticated man of nature!

I do not make these remarks upon the immortal *Emilius*, without a painful sensation. The Savoyard vicar's profession of faith, and the political as well as moral sentiments of this work are become the machines, which have been used to erect the edifice of the present European governments, and especially that of France.

But if the philosophers of ancient and modern times had, through their opinions, the same influence on the age in which they lived, they differed as to passions and morals.

All the world has heard of *Diogenes* and his tub. *Menedus* of *Lampsacus* appeared in public clad in a black robe, and with a hat made of bark, upon which were carved the twelve signs of the Zodiac. His flowing beard descended to his waist; he was mounted on the tragic buskin, and carried an ash staff in his hand. He pretended to be a spirit, sent from the infernal regions to preach wisdom to mankind.

Anaxarchus, the master of *Pyrrho*, having fallen

into a deep ditch, the latter refused to draw him out, gravely asserting, as a reason, that every thing is in itself a matter of indifference, and that it was just as well to die in a ditch as any where else.

When Zeno walked in the streets, his friends accompanied him, from a fear that he might be crushed to death by some carriage; for he took no trouble to escape what he deemed a fatality.

Democritus shut himself up among the tombs for the purposes of study, and Heraclitus eat the grass of the mountain.

Empedocles, wishing to pass for a divinity, precipitated himself into Mount Ætna, but the volcano having vomited forth the brazen sandals of this impious braggart, his deception was discovered. This fable of the Greeks is ingenious. Does it not intimate that the gods know the pride and ostentation of philosophy, and that they announce this to humanity by some mean and contemptible parts of its character?

Our modern philosophers at least kept within narrower bounds. It is true that Spinoza lived with his dogs, his birds and cats. J. J. Rousseau too wore the dress of an Armenian;* but none of them went into the suburbs for the purpose of preaching wisdom to the assembled mob; and if any one had wished to live in a tub, I doubt whether the popu-

* Rousseau wore this dress from poverty, but still it appears to me that he might have chosen one which was not so singular.

lace of our great towns would have quietly allowed him to follow his inclination; so much do our manners differ from those of the ancients.

Bnt if the sophists of Greece affected originality of character, they were not less distinguished by the chastity and purity of their morals. They engaged in all the other pursuits of citizens, and shared with them the labours of the country. Solon, Socrates, Charondas, and a thousand others were not only great philosophers, but great warriors. Frugality, a contempt of pleasure, and all the moral virtues shone in their character.

Our philosophers are of a very different description. In a morning they shut themselves in their studies to write books on the war, at the seat of which they have never been; or upon government, in which they have never taken any part; or upon man in a state of nature, though they have never studied man except in the capital; and after having written a rigid chapter against luxury, the corruption of the age, and the despotism of the great, they join our circles at night, in order to flatter the very objects of their attack, to corrupt the wives of their neighbours, and to share in all the vices of the world.

“Thou old fool! thou old beggar!” exclaimed Diderot when sixty-two years of age, and in love with all the women, “when wilt thou cease to expose thyself to the mortification of being refused, or ridiculed?”

“I’ll tell you what constitutes your paradise,”

said Madame de Rochefort to Duclos, "bread, wine, cheese, and the first woman that comes in your way."

Helvetius, in other respects a good kind of man (which expression, by the bye, is much abused; and should be restored to its real signification;) Helvetius, though married, had a new mistress brought to him every night by his valet, who tried to procure them, as often as he could, from the decent classes of the community. It is said that Madame de did not escape the caresses of the sage of Ferney, whose immorality is well known.*

I heard Chamfort relate a curious anecdote of Jean Jacques Rousseau. He had seen some letters from the philosopher of Geneva to a female, in which he employed all his seductive eloquence to convince her that adultery was not a crime. "Do you wish to know the secret of these letters?" added Chamfort, "the friend of morals was amorously inclined."

No one is ignorant that the hands of the great Chancellor Bacon were not pure, that Hobbes, who is so firm a philosopher in his writings, could not make up his mind to die, and that with the exception of Fenelon and Catinat, the morals of the philosophers of our age totally differ from those of the ancient Greek sages.

God forbid that I should reveal the turpitude of

* I say nothing of the libidinous romances, written by most of our philosophers.

these great men from any feeling of malignity! I am unconscious of it. In spite of their weaknesses, I believe them to be as worthy people as any that our age has produced; but I have been compelled, against my inclination, to make these differences apparent, because they lead to truths essentially connected with the object of this essay.

The result of my statement is that our modern philosophers, by living more in the world, and according to its customs, than the ancients, have been able better to depict society, and the secret springs of human action. Hence their works, being more calculated for their age, were sure to have a more rapid influence on their contemporaries than the books of Plato and Aristotle. Accordingly we find that a shorter time elapsed between the subversion of principles in France and the reign of the Encyclopedists, than between the same subversion of principles in Greece and the triumph of the sophists. Both, however, had the effect of overturning the laws and opinions of their country. The examination of the influence, produced by the philosophers of Alexander's time upon that age, and by the modern philosophers on our own, now demands all the reader's attention.

How does philosophy act on mankind? This is a great question. Does it produce more good than evil, or more evil than good? How does it determine the issue of revolutions, and in what sense does it determine that issue? How far can

a people be happy, which is guided only by philosophical systems?

We will not embrace all these questions, because they would lead us too far. We will only consider philosophy with regard to the influence which it has had upon Greece and France, confining ourselves to political remarks. An essay is a book which suggests matter for the formation of other books; and it can only be called good in proportion to the quantity of materials which it thus supplies. Besides, the subject, of which I am treating, extends to such a length, and my talents are so feeble that I endeavour to circumscribe myself. Time flies too, and I am tired.

A considerable difference may be discovered between the age of Alexander and our's, considered with respect to their political influence. The different publications on government, which appeared in Greece at this period, became the signal of a general revolution in the constitution of nations. The east changed its despotic institutions for monarchies of a more moderate nature, while the Greek republics were subjected to the yoke of tyrants.

The works of our modern political writers have effected a revolution of quite an opposite kind. Popular states have erected themselves upon the ruins of thrones. This arises from the different relative condition of countries in the two ages.

When Plato and Aristotle published their *Republics*, Greece still possessed that form of go-

vernment. The disciple of Socrates and the Stagyrte, therefore, taught nations nothing new ; and had they not the laws of Solon and Lycurgus ? We here penetrate into the recesses of the human heart. What government did the legislating philosophers of Athens extol in their writings as the best ? The monarchical. Why ? Because they had felt the inconveniences of a popular one. But no ; let us rather say, because they did not possess the monarchical one. The state in which we live always appears to us the very worst ; and a thousand little contemptible passions, which we do not dare to confess even to ourselves, continually urge us to hate and blame the institutions of our country. If we more frequently referred to our consciences, for the purpose of examining the great passions of patriotism and liberty, by which we are dazzled, we should perhaps discover the deception. By touching them with the ring of truth, we should see these magicians, like those of Ariosto, lose all at once their borrowed charms, and appear in their natural disgusting forms of interest, pride and envy. This is the secret of revolutions.

The Greek philosophers, when they praised monarchy, at least acted in conformity to the morals of the people, who were too far corrupted to admit of a democratic constitution. The works of these celebrated men must have had a very great influence on the persons who were at the head of the state, and who could, from their station, do much towards altering its form. Demosthenes

had railed against Philip, but many persons at Athens thought, nevertheless, that his government was not so bad as described. Their prejudices against kings were softened by the perusal of political works, and Greece soon submitted, without a murmur, to the regal authority.

When J. J. Rousseau, Mably and Raynal, sounded the republican trumpet, Europe was reposing under monarchical governments. The people awoke, opened their eyes, and read books which recommended nothing but innovations. A torrent of new ideas rushed into their heads. The relaxed state of morals, the enthusiasm of novelty, the envy of the little and the corruption of the great, the recollections of monarchical oppression, and above all, the rage for systems, which had found its way even among the courtiers;—all these circumstances tended to support the philosophic spirit, and to bring about a republican revolution in France. For the same reason that the Greek politicians boasted of the advantages attendant on a regal government, the politicians of France extolled a popular constitution.

Thus the influence of the philosophers of Alexander's age and those of our own, acted in a way directly opposite to each other, producing monarchy in Greece and a republic in France. But we must not too readily admit these facts. France has not preserved the forms of democracy. If we refer to morals, we shall find that those of the Greek nations, at the moment of Alexander's re-

volution, were nearly in the same state of corruption as those of the French at the time of instituting the republic. These corrupt morals produced slavery at Athens, and have not given birth to liberty at Paris.

It remains for me to speak of the influence of the reformation. Religion and politics are so nearly allied, that it was the change of religious principles which partly produced the fall of the Roman empire—a change begun by the dogmatic sects of Athens. It was a similar alteration in the religious ideas of the people, that overturned the government of France in our days.

CHAP. L.

Influence of the Reformation.

THE reformation forms an important epoch in the history of modern Europe. When men begin to be sceptics in religion, they begin also to have political doubts. Whoever ventures to search into the ground work of his faith, is not long before he inquires into the principles of the government under which he lives. When the soul demands to be free, the body shares its wish. The consequence is a natural one.

Erasmus had prepared the way for Luther; Luther opened the road to Calvin, and the latter to a thousand others. The political influence of the reformation will be found in the revolutions

which remain to be described. Considering it here only in a religious point of view, it may be remarked that the different sects, which it engendered, had the same effect on Christianity that the philosophical schools of Greece had on Polytheism; they weakened the whole sacerdotal system. The tree, divided into boughs, no longer vigorously pushed forth its solitary stem, and thus became the more susceptible of being cut down branch by branch.

I cannot quit the subject of the reformation without making one more reflection. Why did all these scenes of carnage take place? Why the League, during which people were seen, like the French in our days, tearing out the smoking entrails of their victims, devouring the still palpitating hearts and lukewarm flesh of these unfortunate creatures, rifling the sepulchre, and covering the face of the land with the half consumed carcases of their fathers?* Why all those troubles

* In the letters of Pasquier, two interesting passages occur, relative to the misfortunes which revolutions have caused in France, and particularly in the capital of that kingdom. I will quote them both.

The first refers to the civil wars in the reign of Charles VI. Pasquier, after having spoken of the population and wealth of Paris under Charles V. adds :

“ While our city was furiously supporting the Burgundian party, it became, without any one thinking of such an event, suddenly deserted. The great *hotels* of Flanders, Artois, Bourbon, Burgundy and Nelses, as well as several others, instead of being receptacles for Princes, Dukes, Marquises and Counts, began to serve as places for crows to build their nests in. I

in the Low Countries, where the Duke of Alva played the first act of the tragedy, afterwards

have read in a manuscript, which had the appearance of a journal, that at this time there was a wolf which every month passed through the city, and which was called *Le Courtaut*. The people were so accustomed to see it that they only laughed. This circumstance arose either from the massacres committed in Paris, by which carcases were frequently to be found (and no animal has so quick a scent as the wolf), or from the city being in so great a degree uninhabited. Whatever might be the distresses of Burgundy and Orleannois, arising from the war between England and France, it is certain that the city of Paris was a great sufferer; for we find in the history of Louis XI. that, in order to re-people it, he wished to act as Romulus did before at Rome, viz. to pardon all previous misconduct, and recall from banishment all who would come to dwell in the capital. But we can have no greater proof of the poverty and solitude which prevailed, than the ordinance, which is to be found in the ancient registers of Chatellet, by which it is permitted to announce the empty parts of the town through the public crier, and if in six weeks no proprietors appeared to oppose the step, such deserted places were to become the property of those who took possession of them. When we read too in our old titles and conveyances, that some houses and estates, both in town and country, were sold for next to nothing, so far from this being an argument in favour of the prosperity of those times, it is, on the contrary, a decisive proof of the distress which then prevailed from a long series of troubles."

If any one were, in a history of the revolution, to introduce the following observations of the same author, word for word, no person would doubt that the League was the subject of discussion. "I have long felt a degree of melancholy creeping upon me, which I want to diminish by imparting its cause to you. I fear and believe that I see our republic drawing to its end. We cannot deny that we have a great king; but unless God looks down upon him with an eye of compassion, he is

continued by Robespierre? Why the massacre of the peasants in Germany, the civil wars in Scot-

either on the point of losing his crown, or of seeing his whole kingdom overturned. The best taxes for a prince to levy are those paid by the goodwill of the people ; but the greater part of those, who have been near his majesty, have thought that the most proper way of raising funds was by advising him to ruin the unhappy people, that is, to ruin himself. These wicked ministers are certainly deserving of a still more horrible punishment than the wretch endures, who is drawn to pieces by four horses, for conspiring against his sovereign. Wishing to maintain their own authority by these damnable suggestions, they have so disordered his majesty that we now see him.....

“ God gifted our king with several good qualities, which are peculiar to him; but, as he is human, he cannot be perfect. There is not a nobleman (I state it without a single exception) among those that shared his favour, who has, I will not say resisted, (because such an expression would be wrong in speaking of a subject's conduct to his king), but who has not encouraged his opinions in every respect, though they sometimes could not be considered proper. He is naturally inclined to be liberal. This quality he inherited from the queen his mother, and it is a truly royal one when its gratification does not tend to oppress the subject. Who is the man, however, that has not been led wrong by extraordinary importunities ? The misfortune is, that none of the officers, who are near his majesty's person, attempt to check him ; so that a great and upright prince, allowing himself first to be carried away by his own will, then subdued by the importunities of others, and finally not advised by those who ought to feel it their duty to give advice, has the misery of seeing all our affairs fall into confusion, as they are at this moment.

“ Thus has the ruin of France been effected, by that association of courtiers called the *Contents*, who made every body else a malcontent. These people, being no longer able to keep pace with the excessive liberality of the king, had recourse to a great

land, and the revolution of Cromwell, during which, poor wretches crowded together in the humid

number of wicked edicts, not to meet the public exigencies, but to make presents, in the midst of all these troubles, to one person or another. In order to give them effect, the lords of the sovereign courts have been compelled to pass them, sometimes by the presence of the king, at others by that of the princes of the blood. Such liberality was never practised in any republic but our's; and if the money was not immediately ready to supply these wants, the malignity of the times has produced a set of vermin, which are called by a new name—*partizans*; and these creatures announce, for their purposes, that half a penny or a third is to be considered of the same value as the whole previously was. This is a real race of vipers, who have preyed upon France, their mother, from the moment they were hatched.

“To complete our misfortune, I have to add that several of the princes and great lords have been dismissed, and inferior people raised to their situation. I tell you every thing in as little compass as I can; for if I were to enter into detail, and relate how all has been brought about, I should sooner be in want of ink than of a subject. But what has been the result of this measure? The oppression of the whole nation, poverty throughout the kingdom, general discontent among the great, and an aversion to the king on the part of almost all the people. What consequences could be expected but such as we are witnessing? To place so many insignificant people over the people already oppressed as they were, was to introduce so many malignant humours into the body of our republic, and promised nothing but the shocking events that ensued in Paris. It was a purulent apostume, to which the supernatural physician chose to give vent, when none of us thought of it. The king indeed soon perceived it; for suddenly after his arrival at Chartres, he revoked thirty mischievous edicts, and promised by letters patent to make no further use of the *Contents*. Would to God that he had done this of his own accord two months before, in order that those who are, as I perceive, against him, might have owed this step

holds of vessels, were poisoned by each other? Why these abominable spectacles, I say? Because a monk chose to think it wrong that the Pope had not granted to his order, rather than another, the commission to sell indulgences in Germany. Let us weep for human nature.

When the storms raised by the Reformation, were allayed, the Vatican reappeared, but half in ruins. It had lost the grandeur of its walls, and its timberwork was mutilated by its own thunderbolts, which the fury of the tempest had forced back against it. The kings and popes, by opposing religious innovations with violent measures, had only irritated mankind. Liberty is diminutive and weak in placid seasons, but becomes a giant in the storm.

Among the mournful consequences, which resulted from these religious troubles, there was one

to his grace, and not to the scandalous proceedings which have taken place. But it is the lot of all kings to perceive their faults only when they are visited by God. For my own part I do not believe that any monarch was ever so much insulted by his people. I am obliged to use this word *insult*, to our great disgrace. Oh that he, who, at his return from Beauce, was received with such plaudits and congratulations by the Parisians, should, six or seven months afterwards, be greeted in the way we witnessed, and in a city too, which he had loved and favoured above all others! On the Thursday and Friday that he remained in the city, all was unexampled chaos and popular commotion, and on Saturday, when his departure was suddenly announced, we saw an instant change in the conduct of the populace. This is a bad sign, and too clearly shews how much he is disliked."

which must not be omitted. Revolutions commit ravages in their course, like the poisonous streams, which cause the flowers to wither as they flow along. The eye of the law is closed during the convulsions of a state, and no longer watches over the citizen, who yields to his passions, and plunges into immorality. It requires years, and sometimes ages, to purify such a nation. This was evidently the case in Europe, after the disturbances which I have mentioned; and religion, which may be always calculated by the state of morals, was sure to lose its influence, in proportion to the relaxation of the latter.

Harmony, however, being re-established, mankind looked back, and began to blush for their folly. Knowledge, which was continually increasing, seconded this disposition to hate what had caused so many evils. In matters of faith there are no bounds; for the moment that we cease to believe any thing, we shall soon cease to believe every thing. Rabelais, Montaigne, and Mariana astonished the human mind by the novelty and boldness of their religious and political opinions. Hobbes and Spinoza next threw aside the mask, and discovered themselves; soon after which Louis XIV. furnished Europe with the last example of national fanaticism, by the revocation of the edict of Nantes.*

At length the Regent appeared. The Duke or

* I say nothing of the scandalous outrages committed against the Catholics of London, by the populace in 1780.

Orleans was distinguished by his genius, accomplishments, and urbanity, but he was the most immoral man of his age, and the least adapted to govern a capricious nation, on which the vices of its rulers had so much influence, when these rulers possessed attractive qualities. It was then that the philosophical sect arose, which was the first and final cause of the revolution. When nations become corrupt, men appear who teach them that there is no celestial vengeance.

The radical change, which Law* effected in the state by his paper, contributed not a little to shake the morals of the people. Interest and the human heart are always connected. To change the morals of a state it is only necessary to change its financial condition. In the depth of despair, or the delirium of success, every sentiment of honesty is extinct, with this difference, that the successful man preserves his vices, and the fallen one loses his virtues.

That heavenly, and at the same time diabolical invention, the Press, began to vomit forth songs, pamphlets, and philosophical books. Every post announced to the citizen either the incest of a father, the execrable death of a cardinal, or debaucheries which even Suetonius would have blushed to describe; and when he paid taxes, he

* We find in the projects of this foreigner, the plan which has been literally executed in our days by the elder Mirabeau, viz. the payment of the national debt in paper, the sale of the effects of the clergy, &c.

supported at the same time, the vile appendages to the court, and the troops which enforced obedience. Disgust at first, and afterwards rage were the feelings sure to arise in the mind of this citizen. The people then learn the secret of their own strength, and the state no longer exists.

It was during the succeeding reign that the sect of Encyclopedists distinguished itself, on which I have already touched. I am now about to consider its religious and political connexion with the institutions of France.

CHAP. LI.

The Philosophic Sect under Louis XV.

THE spirit of innovation and doubt, which arose under the Regent, soon made rapid progress. During the reign of Louis XV. an association was formed, consisting of the most brilliant men that France has produced, *viz.* Diderot, D'Alembert, Voltaire, &c. Only two great persons refused to become members of it, J. J. Rousseau and Montesquieu. Hence the aversion to them felt by Voltaire; and particularly to the former, because he was the champion of God and morality. This society stated its object to be the diffusion of knowledge and the destruction of tyranny. Undoubtedly no object could be more noble; but the true spirit of the Encyclopedists was a persecuting fury and intolerance of opinions, which aimed at

destroying all other systems than their own, and even preventing the freedom of thought. In fine, it was a rage against what they called *l'Infâme*, or the Christian religion, which they had resolved to exterminate.

The most astonishing circumstance in the history of the human heart, is that the despot Frederick was one of this coalition, formed to undermine the basis of regal power. Perhaps the most extraordinary monument of literature that exists is the correspondence between Diderot, Voltaire, D'Alembert, and the King of Prussia. In every page we see with amazement, philosophers casting off the cloak, in which they had disguised themselves to the eye of the world. We see the monarch throwing away the royal mask; treating morality as a fable, and talking freely to his brother philosophers of liberty, while he reserved slavery for his stupid people. We see them all sporting with subjects the most sacred, and bandying from one to the other, with criminal and powerful hand, mankind and their opinions, like a ball.

Such was the famous sect which began during the reign of Louis XV. to destroy the morality of France. Its progress was astonishing. The indefatigable Voltaire never ceased to exclaim: "*Frappons, écrasons l'Infâme*;" (let us beat down and crush Christianity); and a crowd of petty authors, wishing to attract the notice of this great man, imitated the example of their master. It soon be-

came the fashion to be an unbeliever. J. J. Rousseau might well exclaim with sacred voice : " People, you are misled. There is a God who avenges guilt, and remunerates virtue." But the efforts of the sublime champion were fruitless, against the torrent of philosophers and priests, who combined to oppose and persecute him.

While religious principles were thus combated by an association of philosophers, others attacked political principles: for it is remarkable that the atheistic sect were miserable reasoners upon affairs of state. Montesquieu, J. J. Rousseau, Mably, and Raynal unfortunately began to enlighten the minds of men, who had lost that energy and purity of soul essential towards making a good use of the truth. Since the Revolution took place, each faction has destroyed one of the greatest men belonging to this body; the Jacobins, Montesquieu, the Royalists, Rousseau. This, however, will not prevent the immortality of the *Spirit of the Laws*, and *Emilius*; works that will descend to the latest posterity. As to the *Social Contract*, of which we find a part in *Emilius*, in the form of an extract from a large work, it rejects every thing and proves nothing. I believe that in its present imperfect state, it has done much good and much harm. I am only astonished that the republicans took it as their guide, for no work more condemns them.

Thus at the moment the people began to read, no publications met their eyes, but such as treated

of politics and religion. The effect was prodigious. While the nation was rapidly shaking off its morality and ignorance, the court, blind to the progress of a vast monarchy towards that abyss, in which we have seen it swallowed, plunged deeper than ever into vice and despotism. Instead of enlarging its plans, elevating its ideas, and purifying its morals, in relative proportion to the increase of knowledge, it became more contracted as to its prejudices, and neither knew how to submit to the course of events, nor to oppose them with vigour. This miserable policy, by which governments are straitened, at the very time that public spirit is extended, may be observed in all revolutions. It is an attempt to inclose a large circle in a small circumference; the result is certain. Tolerance now increased, and the priests condemned to death a young man who, during a drunken revel, had insulted a crucifix. The people appeared to incline towards resistance, and at one time injudicious concessions were made to them, at another imprudent constraint was resorted to. The spirit of liberty began to appear, and *lettres de cachet* were multiplied. I know that these letters have made more noise than they have done harm; but, after all, such an institution produces the radical destruction of principles. That, which is not law, is not included in the essence of government, and is criminal. Who would sit under a sword suspended by a hair above his head, under a pretext of its not being likely to fall? Any

one, who thus saw the monarch lulled to repose in the lap of pleasure, corrupt courtiers, weak or wicked ministers, the people losing their morality, the philosophers partly undermining religion, and partly the state; the nobles either ignorant or contaminated by the vices of the times, the ecclesiastics a disgrace to their order at Paris, and full of prejudices in the country—any one, I say, who witnessed this, would have said that a host of efforts were struggling against each other to destroy a great edifice.

Religion continued to decline from the time that Louis XV. began to reign, and at length vanished, with the monarchy, in the gaping gulph of the revolution.

Here ends the history of the Greek revolutions, with reference to that of France. We are now about to quit for ever the sacred land of talent. If I have, in some degree, interested the reader, while I led him through these regions, he will, perhaps, on a future day, consent to accompany me in my researches as to Italy and modern nations. But before I begin these, it is necessary that we bid adieu to Sparta and Athens, and endeavour to sum up what we have learnt.

CHAP. LII.

Recapitulation.

IN the first forty-two chapters of this essay, we studied the republican revolution in Greece, investigating its influence on contemporaneous nations, and following its ramifications, as far as we were able to discover them.

In the remaining chapters, which comprise the revolution effected by Philip and Alexander, we have passed in review the tyrants of Athens, Dionysius at Syracuse, Agis at Sparta, the Greek philosophers, and their influence. As a parallel to these, we have had the Convention of France, the fugitive Bourbons, Louis XVI. at Paris, the modern philosophers, and their influence on their age, as well as the influence of the reformation, and the philosophic sect under Louis XV. What remains for us to do, is to re-examine the point from which we set out, and ascertain how far we are advanced towards the general object of this essay.

The questions with which we set out, were

1st. What revolutions have heretofore occurred in the governments of mankind, what was, at those periods, the state of society, and what has been the influence of those revolutions on the age in which they occurred, and on the ages which have succeeded?

2dly. Among these revolutions are there any,

which from the spirit, morals, and enlightened state of the times, can be compared with the French one?

We are now to ascertain whether we have made any progress towards the solution of these questions.

Certainly a considerable progress. Although the present volume forms only a small part of the immense subject of this work; still it may be boldly asserted, that most of the circumstances, which are pointed out as new in the French revolution, are here shewn to have almost literally occurred in ancient Greece. Hence, we possess these important truths, that man is so feeble in his means and genius, as only to be capable of incessant repetition; that he moves in a circle, to pass beyond which all attempts are fruitless; that the events which do not depend on him, but which appear to be produced by the caprice of fortune, are incessantly repeated; so that it would be possible to make a table, in which all the imaginable events of any nation's history might be reduced to mathematical exactness. I doubt whether the primitive characteristics would be extremely numerous, though an immense variety of inferences would be deduced from the composition.*

* It would be easy to make such a table, and it would not be a frivolous matter. We might, for instance, take for its foundation two sorts of government, the monarchical and the re-

But what good is to be deduced from this observation? Much.

Every man, who is persuaded that there is nothing new in history, loses a relish for innovation—a relish, that has been one of the greatest scourges with which Europe has been afflicted. Enthusiasm proceeds from ignorance; remove the latter, and the former will be extinguished. Knowledge is an opium which too completely allays exaltation.

I must likewise observe that, to judge properly, the reader cannot be too much upon his guard against misapprehension, and should consider objects in their true light. The resemblance of political condition and the similarity of circumstances, are of much less importance than the moral situation of the people. The point, to which we should hold, is a nation's morals, for that is the key which opens the secret-book of fate. If I seem often to dwell on morals, it is

publican. Natural man, political man, and civil man, would be ranged in two columns; in a third, would be marked the degree of knowledge and ignorance; in a fourth, the chances of different kinds. All these numbers would be multiplied by the different passions, such as envy, ambition, hatred, love, &c. which would be seen in a fifth column. The whole would fall into fractions, composed of shades of character, &c. But let us be on our guard against making such a table. The results from it would be so terrible, that I do not like even to hint at them here.

because they are the centre, round which political worlds revolve. It is in vain that the latter attempt to extricate themselves from the influence of the former. They are compelled to describe their course round this point, or must fall, when detached from the common focus of attraction, into the unfathomable void.

The second volume of this Essay, if I have time to write it, will begin with the Roman revolutions, a subject perhaps still grander than the one we are about to quit. It may not have been observed, that I have endeavoured, as much as possible, to vary the contents of this work. Every subject has its defect. The fault of mine, in spite of its grandeur, is that it leads to repetition. I shall try, therefore, hereafter, to write each revolution on a different plan to the rest.

After having thus shewn the general truths which result from this publication, I will add a few detached truths on the nature of man, considered morally and politically.

Man is composed of two organs, differing in their essence, and without relation to each other in their powers—the head and the heart.

The heart feels, the head compares.

The heart judges of good and evil; the head of effects, and the connection which exists between one circumstance and another.

Virtue, therefore, emanates from the heart, and the sciences proceed from the head.

Virtue is conscience heard and obeyed ; science is enlightened nature.

Like infants, which we are forced to take from an unhealthy mother, in order to supply them with purer milk, Liberty, the daughter of martial Virtue, cannot exist unless nourished at the bosom of Morality.

Why did Agis perish at Sparta? Why was Dionysius expelled from Syracuse? Why did Thrasybulus wander far from Athens, his country? Why? &c.—Because at Sparta, at Syracuse, and Athens there were men, and by the heart of this incomprehensible biped, every thing may be explained.

Liberty is a great word—and what is political liberty? I will explain it. A free man at Sparta, means a man, whose hours were regulated as completely as those of the school-boy under the rod, who rose, dined, walked, and fought under the eyes of some hoary-headed leader, to be told that the latter also was once young and brave. If the desires of nature, and the rights of nuptial chastity appealed to the young man's heart, he was obliged to cover them with a veil, of which he availed himself for criminal indulgence. He was to smile when he heard of his friend's death, and if soft pity touched his soul, he was compelled to murder some lowly innocent slave, in the field which this unfortunate creature was laboriously tilling for his master.

“You are mistaken,” says the reader, “this was not political liberty. It was not thus that the Athenians understood it.” And what was their practice? Among them no one could be admitted into the administration of state affairs, unless he possessed a certain revenue; and when a citizen had involved himself in debt, he was sold as a slave. An orator in the tribune, provided he was a good rhetorician, could cause Socrates to be poisoned to-day, and Phocion to be banished to-morrow. This free people had always some person at its head, merely for the sake of form; such as Pisis-tratus, Hippias, Themistocles, Pericles, Alcibiades, Philip, or Antigonus. I should like to know, therefore, how many sorts of political liberty there are; for all the other little cities of Greece also possessed their liberty, and yet none of them explained the term in the same sense as the Athenians and Spartans.

Let us be men, that is to say, free. Let us learn to despise the prejudices of birth and riches, while we honour virtuous indigence. Let us impart energy to our souls, and elevation to our ideas. Let us every where display a dignity of character, whether prosperous or unfortunate. Let us know how to brave poverty, and smile at death like true Christians. But in order to effect this, we must begin by withdrawing our attachment to human institutions, be they of what nature they may. We scarcely ever see

things as they really are, but merely their shadows, falsely reflected by our desires ; and we pass our days nearly like a man looking, in this cloudy part of the world, at the heavens through coloured glass, which deceives his eye, and exhibits to him the serenity of milder regions. While we thus rock ourselves to repose with chimeras, “ time rolls his ceaseless course,” and all at once the tomb opens to receive us.

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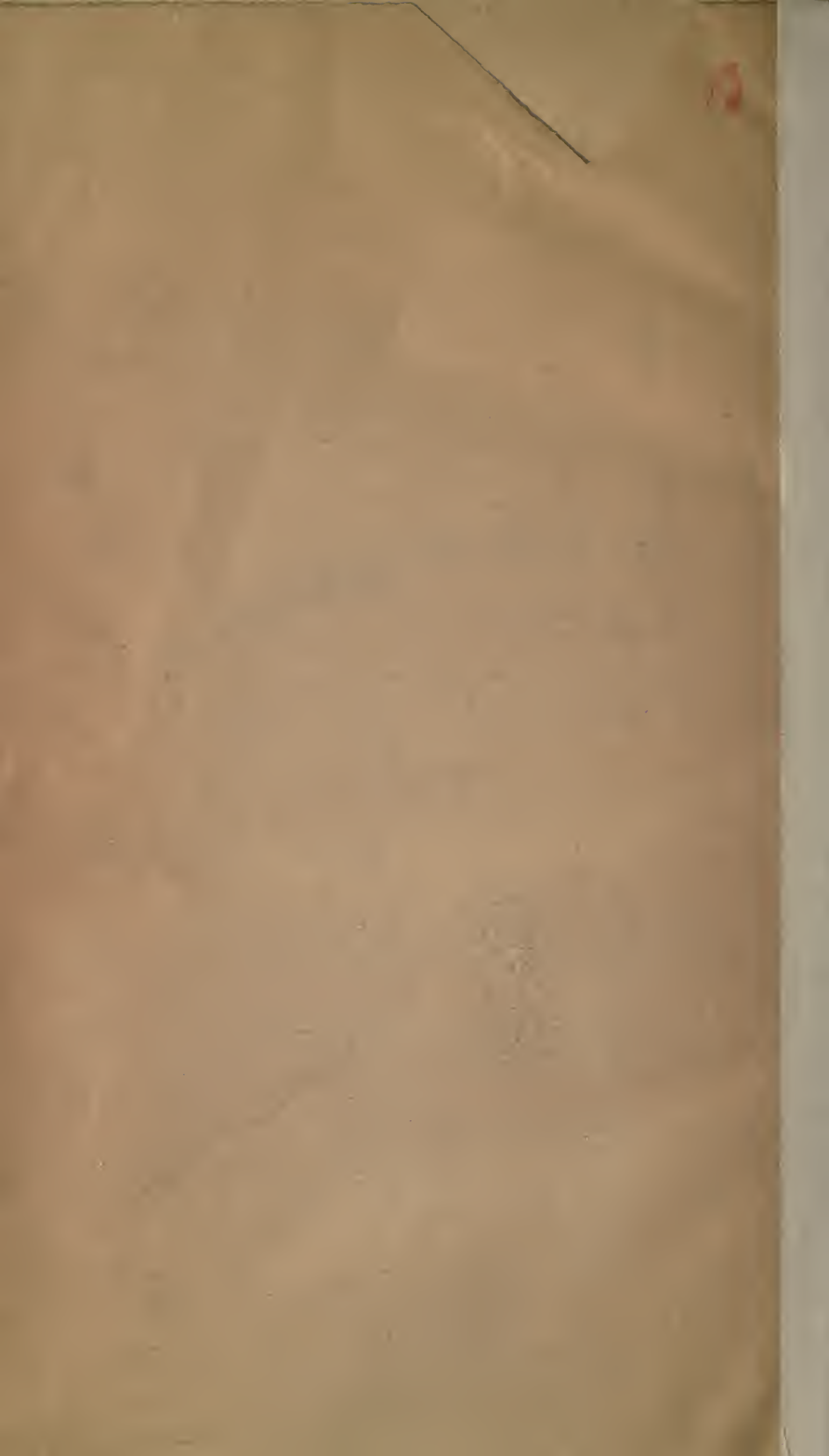
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